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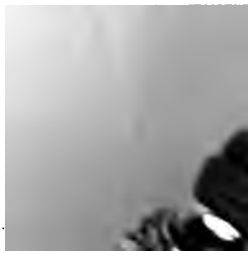

THE WRITINGS OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

VOLUME VI

The MC Co.

Franklin before the Lords in Council, London, 1774
From a painting by C. Schussele, engraved by Robert Whitechurch

THE WRITINGS

OF

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

COLLECTED AND EDITED
WITH A LIFE AND INTRODUCTION

BY

ALBERT HENRY SMYTH

VOLUME VI
1773–1776

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TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

A. P. S.	American Philosophical Society.
B. M.	British Museum.
B. N.	Bibliothèque Nationale.
D. S. W.	Department of State, Washington.
H.	Harvard University.
L. C.	Library of Congress.
L. L.	Lenox Library.
Lans.	Lansdowne House.
M. H. S.	Massachusetts Historical Society.
P. C.	Private Collection.
P. H. S.	Pennsylvania Historical Society.
P. R. O.	Public Record Office.
P. R. O. A. W. I.	Public Record Office: America and West Indies.
P. A. E. E. U.	Paris Departement des Affaires Etrangères, — Etats-Unis.
U. of P.	University of Pennsylvania.
Y.	Yale University.
B.	Bigelow.
F.	Benjamin Franklin.
S.	Sparks.
V.	Benjamin Vaughan.
W. T. F.	W. T. Franklin.

Franklin's Mss. exist in several forms. He made a rough draft of every letter that he wrote; he then made a clean copy to send away, and often retained a letter-press copy. To indicate the state of the document, the following abbreviations are used: d. = draft, trans. = transcript, l. p. = letter-press copy.

When I next attended him, he return'd me the Letter with great Complaisance in his Countenance; said he was glad to find that People in America were dispos'd to think so favourably of him; that they did him but Justice in believing he had the best Disposition towards them, for he wish'd sincerely their Welfare, though possibly he might not always think with them, as to the Means of obtaining that End; that the Heads of Complaint in your Letter were many, some of them requiring much Consideration, and therefore it could scarce be expected that a sudden Change should be made in so many Measures, supposing them all improper to be continued, which perhaps might not be the Case. It was however his Opinion, that, if the Americans continued quiet, and gave no fresh Offence to government, those Measures would be reconsidered, and such Relief given as upon Consideration should be thought reasonable.

I need not remark, that there is not much in such general Discourse; but I could then obtain nothing more particular, except that his Lordship expressed in direct terms his Disapprobation of the Instruction for exempting the Colonies from Taxation; which, however, was, as he said, in Confidence to me, relying that no public Mention should be made of his Opinion on that Head.

In the mean time, some Circumstances are working in our favour with regard to the Duties. It is found by the last year's Accounts transmitted by the Commissioners, that the Ballance in favour of Britain is but about £85, after Payment of Salaries, &c., exclusive of the charge of a fleet to enforce the collection. Then it is observed, that the India Company is so out of Cash, that it cannot pay the bills drawn upon it, and its other Debts; and at the same time so out of Credit,

that the Bank does not care to assist them, whence they find themselves oblig'd to lower their Dividend; the Apprehension of which has sunk their Stock from 280 to 160, whereby several Millions of Property are annihilated, occasioning private Bankruptcies and other Distress, besides a Loss to the Public Treasury of £400,000 per Annum, which the Company are not to pay into it as heretofore, if they are not able to keep up their Dividend at twelve and a half. And, as they have at the same time Tea and other India Goods in their Warehouses, to the Amount of Four Millions, as some say, for which they want a Market, and which, if it had been sold, would have kept up their Credit, I take the Opportunity of remarking in all Companies the great Imprudence of losing the American Market, by keeping up the Duty on Tea, which has thrown that Trade into the Hands of the Dutch, Danes, Swedes, and French, who, according to the Reports and Letters of some Custom-House Officers in America, now supply by smuggling the whole Continent, not with Tea only, but accompany that Article with other India Goods, amounting, as supposed, in the whole to £500,000 Sterling per Annum. This gives some Alarm, and begins to convince People more and more of the Impropriety of Quarrelling with America, who at that rate might have taken off Two Millions and a half of those Goods within these Five Years that the Combination has subsisted, if the Duty had not been laid, or had been speedily repealed.

But our great Security lies, I think, in our growing Strength, both in Numbers and Wealth; that creates an increasing Ability of assisting this Nation in its Wars, which will make us more respectable, our Friendship more valued, and our Enmity feared; thence it will soon be thought proper to treat

us not with Justice only, but with Kindness, and thence we may expect in a few Years a total Change of Measures with regard to us; unless, by a Neglect of military Discipline, we should lose all martial Spirit, and our Western People become as tame as those in the Eastern Dominions of Britain, when we may expect the same Oppressions; for there is much Truth in the Italian saying, *Make yourselves Sheep, and the Wolves will eat you.* In Confidence of this coming Change in our favour, I think our Prudence is meanwhile to be quiet, only holding up our Rights and Claims on all Occasions in Resolutions, Memorials, and Remonstrances; but bearing patiently the little present Notice that is taken of them. They will all have their Weight in Time, and that Time is at no great Distance. With the greatest Esteem, I have the Honour to be, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

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637. TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN (A. P. S.)

London, Jan. 6 1773

MY DEAR CHILD,

I feel still some Regard for this Sixth of January, as my old nominal Birthday, tho' the Change of Stile has carried the real Day forward to the 17th, when I shall be, if I live till then, 67 Years of Age. It seems but t'other Day since you and I were rank'd among the Boys & Girls, so swiftly does Time fly! We have however great Reason to be thankful that so much of our Lives has pass'd so happily; and that so great a Share of Health and Strength remains, as to render Life yet comfortable.

I received your kind Letter of November 16 by Sutton.

The Apples are not yet come on shore, but I thank you for them. Capt. All was so good as to send me a Barrel of excellent ones, which serve me in the mean time. I rejoice to hear that you all continue well. But you have so us'd me to have something pretty about the Boy, that I am a little disappointed in finding nothing more of him than that he is gone up to Burlington. Pray give in your next as usual, a little of his History.

All our Friends here are pleas'd with your remembring them, and send their Love to you. Give mine to all that enquire concerning me, and a good deal to our Children. I am ever, my dear Debby, your affectionate Husband,

B. FRANKLIN.

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638. TO JOSEPH GALLOWAY (D. S. W.)

London, Jan. 6, 1773.

DEAR FRIEND: — I have received your Favours of Oct. 18 and 30. I am oblig'd greatly to you and Mr. Rhoads for your friendly Interposition in the Affair of my Salary. As I never made any Bargain with the House, I accept thankfully whatever they please to give me, and shall continue to serve them as long as I can afford to stay here: Perhaps it may be thought that my other Agencies contribute more than sufficient for that purpose; but the Jersey Allowance, tho' well paid, is a very small one; that from Georgia, £100 only, is some Years in Arrear; and will not be continued, as the Appointment is by a Yearly Act, which I am told the Governor will not again pass with my Name in it. And from

Boston I have never receiv'd a Farthing, perhaps never shall, as their Govr is instructed to pass no Salary to an Agent whose Appointment he has not assented to. In these Circumstances, with an almost double Expence of living by my Family remaining in Philadelphia, the Losses I am continually suffering in my Affairs there through Absence, together with my now advanced Age, I feel renewed Inclinations to return and spend the remainder of my Days in private Life, having had rather more than my Share of publick Bustle. I only wish first to improve a little, for the general Advantage of our Country, the favourable Appearances arising from the Change of our American Minister, and the good Light I am told I stand in with the Successor. If I be instrumental in [illegible] Things in good train, with a Prospect of their [illegible] on a better Footing than they have had for some Years past, I shall think a little additional Time well spent, tho' I were to have no Allowance for it at all.

I must, however, beg you will not think of retiring from Publick Business: You are yet a young Man,[1] and may still be greatly serviceable to your Country. It would be, I think, something criminal to bury in private Retirement so early, all the Usefulness of so much Experience and such great Abilities. The People do not indeed always see their Friends in the same favourable Light; they are sometimes mistaken, and sometimes misled; but sooner or later they come right again, and redouble their former Affection. This, I am confident, will happen in your Case, as it often has in the Case of others. Therefore, preserve your Spirits and persevere, at least to the Age of 60. — a Boundary I once fix'd for myself but have gone beyond it.

[1] Galloway was about forty years of age. — ED.

I am afraid the bill, Wilcock on Col. Alex. Johnston, for £166 15 3½ must be returned with a protest. I shall know in a day or two.

I shall consult Mr. Jackson, and do in the island Affair what shall be thought best for securing your interest and that of all concerned.

By your Spring Ships I shall write you more fully. At present I can only add that I am with unalterable esteem and affection,

Yours most sincerely

B FRANKLIN

---

639. TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN (D. S. W.)

London, Feb. 2, 1773.

MY DEAR CHILD: — Since my last I have got the Apples on shore, and they come out very good. Accept my best Thanks. Mr. Bache of York, has also kindly sent me two Barrels; Capt. Winn one, and Capt. Falconer one. I told you before that Capt. All gave me one, so that I am now plentifully supply'd.

I know you love to have a Line from me by every Packet, so I write, tho' I have little to say, having had no Letter from you since my last, of Jan. 6.

In Return for your History of your *Grandson*, I must give you a little of the History of my *Godson*. He is now 21 Months old, very strong and healthy, begins to speak a little, and even to sing. He was with us a few Days last Week, grew fond of me, and would not be contented to sit down to Breakfast without coming to call *Pa*, rejoicing when he

had got me into my Place. When seeing me one Day crack one of the Philad[a] Biscuits into my Tea with the Nut-crackers, he took another and try'd to do the same with the Tea-Tongs. It makes me long to be at home to play with Ben.

My Love to him and our Children, with all enquiring Friends. Mrs. Stevenson presents her affectionate Respects, and Sally her Duty.

I am ever, my dear Debby,
Your loving Husband
B. FRANKLIN.

---

640. TO JOHN BARTRAM (D. S. W.)

London, Feb. 10, 1773.

MY DEAR GOOD OLD FRIEND,

I am glad to learn that the Turnip Seed and the Rhubarb grow with you, and that the Turnip is approved. It may be depended on, that the Rhubarb is the genuine Sort. But to have the Root in perfection, it ought not to be taken out of the Ground in less than 7 Years. Herewith I send you a few Seeds of what is called the Cabbage Turnip. They say that [it] will stand the Frost of the severest Winter, and so make a fine early Feed for Cattle in the Spring, when their other Fodder may be scarce. I send also some [seed of the Scotch cabbage; and some] peas that are much applauded here, [but I forget for what purpose, and shall inquire and let you know in my next.][1]

I think there has been no good Opportunity of sending your Medal since I received it till now. It goes in a Box to

[1] The passages in brackets are not found in the rough draft in D. S. W.—ED.

my Son Bache, with the Seeds. I wish you Joy of it. Notwithstanding the Failure of your Eyes, you write as distinctly as ever. With great Esteem and Respect, I am, my dear Friend, yours most affectionately, B. FRANKLIN.

---

641. TO ANTHONY BENEZET (D. S. W.)

London, Feb. 10. 1773

DEAR FRIEND: — I received with Pleasure yours of Sept. 13, as it informed me of your Welfare. With this I send you one of Young's "Night Thoughts" — the largest Print I could find. I thank you for the 4 Copies you sent me of your Translation of the French Book; I have given two of them to Friends here, whom I thought the Subject might suit. I have commenced an Acquaintance with Mr. Granville Sharpe,[1] and we shall act in Concert in the Affair of Slavery. The Accounts you send me relating to Surinam are indeed terrible. Go on and prosper in your laudable Endeavors, and believe me ever, my dear Friend,

Yours most affectionately

B. FRANKLIN.

I send you a few [copies] of a Pamphlet written at Paris by a well-wisher to our Country.[2] It is a little System of Morals that may give distinct Ideas on that Subject to Youth, and perhaps on that Acc[t] not unfit for a School-Book. I will send you more if you desire it.

[1] Granville Sharp (1735–1813), philanthropist and pamphleteer, who had just won (1772) the first victory in the struggle for the emancipation of slaves by securing the freedom of James Somersett. His correspondence with Franklin is in A. P. S. — ED.

[2] Barbeu Dubourg: "Petit Code de l'Humanité." — ED.

642. TO ABEL JAMES AND BENJAMIN MORGAN[1] (D. S. W.)

London, Feb. 10. 1773

GENTLEMEN: — I duly receiv'd your Favour of [mutilated], and have, after a long Delay got the Silk from the Custom-House. The Throwsters appointed to inspect it there, in order to ascertain the Bounty, valued it at 15/ the small pound, the whole taken together, and afterwards wanted to buy it of me at that Price. But suspecting their Offer to be too low, I have shown it to others, who say it is much undervalued. Our Friend Freeman advises its being sold by Auction as the last and recommends the same Broker. Every one I have consulted are of the same Opinion. He will have a Sale about April next.

The Spitalfield's Silk Business is very dead at present. The enormous Paper Credit which circulated so freely some time since, enabled the Master Manufacturers to employ more Men and make more Goods than the Market really required, and the Blow such Credit has lately received, obliges them to stop their Work 'till they can dispose of the great Quantity of Goods on hand, which some say is enough for a twelvemonth to come.

So the disbanded Workmen are starving, tho' great Sums are collected to distribute among them in Charity. Several

[1] The Society in Pennsylvania for the manufacture of silk was organized as "the Filature," and held its first meeting, November 17, 1772. James and Morgan, two active members of the society, conducted the correspondence with Franklin. The product of the year 1772 was two trunks full of silk, of which a part was sent to F. — ED.

have apply'd to me to ship them to America, but having no Acc^{t} that such Workmen were wanted there, I was obliged to refuse them. One came to me with the enclos'd Letter, and show'd me several written Characters from different Masters he had work'd with, all strongly in his favour for Ingenuity and Skill in his Business, as well as his Sobriety and Industry. He was a Quaker, and seem'd a sensible young Man; so that I was strongly inclin'd to send him, till I understood he had a Wife and young Family, whi^{ch} would make it too expensive: Tho' he said his Wife was a Workwoman in the Business, and one Child could also be serviceable. He is endeavoring to get Subscriptions to pay the Passage-Money, but I suppose will hardly succeed, as People here would rather maintain the Workmen idle for a while, than pay toward sending them to America.

I am much obliged to the Managers for their Present of 4 lbs of the Silk, and shall consider what Purpose I can apply it to that may best contribute to the encouragement of the Produce. Please to offer them my thankful Acknowledgments, and assure them of my most faithful Services.

With great Esteem and Respect, I am, Gentlemen,

Your most obed. hum. serv^{t},

B. FRANKLIN.

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643. TO JAMES JOHNSTON (D. S. W.)

London, Feb. 10, 1773

SIR: — I received your Letter with the Sample of North American Senna, which I put into the Hands of a Friend who is a great Botanist as well as a Physician, and has made some

Trial of it. He tells me that to render it merchantable here, the Stalks should be pick'd out, and the Leaves pack'd up neatly, as that is which comes from the Levant. Perhaps among your Druggists you might see some of those Packages and so inform yourself of the manner. He has not yet had sufficient Experience of it to be decisive in his Opinion of its Qualities in comparison with other Senna, but thinks it likely that it may answer the same purposes. Of the Quantity that may be in demand here, I have yet been able to obtain no intelligence.

I am, sir, your humble Servant. B. FRANKLIN.

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644. TO WILLIAM FRANKLIN[1] (D. S. W.)

London, Feb. 14. 1773

DEAR SON,

The Opposition are now attacking the Ministry on the St. Vincent's affair, which is generally condemned here, and some think Ld Hillsborough will be given up, as the Adviser of that Expedition. But if it succeeds perhaps all will blow over. The Ministry are more embarras'd with the India Affairs. The continu'd refusal of North America to take Tea from hence, has brought infinite Distress on the Company. They imported great Quantities in the Faith that that agreement could not hold; and now they can neither pay their Debts nor Dividends; their Stock has sunk to the annihilating near three millions of their Property, and Government will lose its 400,000£ a year; while their Teas lie upon

[1] Only a part of the letter is printed here. The remainder relates to unimportant personal and business affairs. — ED.

Hand. The Bankruptcies, brought on partly by this means, have given such a Shock to Credit, as has not been experienc'd here since the South Sea Year. And this has affected the great Manufacturers so much, as to oblige them to discharge their Hands, and thousands of Spitalfield and Manchester Weavers are now starving, or subsisting on Charity. Blessed Effects of Pride, Pique, and Passion in Government, which should have no Passions. I am ever your affectionate Father,

B. FRANKLIN.

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645. TO HUMPHRY MARSHALL (D. S. W.)

London, February 14, 1773.

SIR,

A considerable time after its arrival, I received the box of seeds you sent me the beginning of last year, with your observations on spots of the sun. The seeds I distributed among some of my friends who are curious; accept my thankful acknowledgments for them. The observations I communicated to our astronomers of the Royal Society, who are much pleased with them, and hand them about from one to another; so that I have had little opportunity of examining them myself, they not being yet returned to me.

Here are various opinions about the solar spots. Some think them vast clouds of smoke and soot arising from the consuming fuel on the surface, which at length take fire again on their edges, consuming and daily diminishing till they totally disappear. Others think them spots of the surface, in which the fire has been extinguished, and which by degrees is rekindled. It is however remarkable, that, though large

spots are seen gradually to become small ones, no one has observed a small spot gradually become a large one; at least I do not remember to have met with such an observation. If this be so, it should seem they are suddenly formed of their full size; and perhaps, if there were more such constant and diligent observers as you, some might happen to be observing at the instant such a spot was formed, when the appearances might give some ground of conjecture by what means they were formed.

The professor of astronomy at Glasgow, Dr. Wilson,[1] has a new hypothesis. It is this; that the sun is a globe of solid matter, all combustible, perhaps, but whose surface only is actually on fire to a certain depth, and all below that depth unkindled, like a log of wood, whose surface to half an inch deep may be burning coal, while all within remains wood. Then he supposes, by some explosion similar to our earthquakes, the burning part may be blown away from a particular district, leaving bare the unkindled part below, which then appears a spot, and only lessens as the fluid burning matter by degrees flows in upon it on all sides, and at last covers or rekindles it.

He founds this opinion on certain appearances of the edges of the spots as they turn under the sun's disk, or emerge again on the other side; for, if there are such hollows in the sun's face as he supposes, and the bright border round their edges be the fluid burning matter flowing down the banks into the hollow, it will follow, that, while a spot is in the middle of the sun's disk, the eye looking directly upon the whole, may dis-

[1] Alexander Wilson (1714–1786), First Professor of Astronomy at Glasgow. In 1769 he made his discovery concerning sun spots. See *Philosophical Transactions*, 1774. — ED.

cern that border all round; but when the hollow is moved round to near the edge of the disk, then, though the eye which now views it aslant can see full the farthest bank, yet that which is nearest is hidden, and not to be distinguished; and when the same spot comes to emerge again on the other side of the sun, the bank which before was visible is now concealed, and that concealed which before was visible, gradually changing, however, till the spot reaches the middle of the disk, when the bank all round may be seen as before. Perhaps your telescope may be scarce strong enough to observe this. If it is, I wish to know whether you find the same appearances. When your observations are returned to me, and I have considered them, I shall lodge them among the papers of the Society, and let you know their sentiments.

With great esteem and regard, I am, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

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646. TO REV. WILLIAM MARSHALL [1] (D. S. W.)

London, Feb. 14, 1773.

REV^D^ SIR: — I duly received your respected Letter of Oct. 30, and am very sensible of the Propriety and Equity of the Act passed to indulge your Friends in their Scruples, relating to the Mode of Taking an Oath, which you plead for so ably by numerous Reasons. That Act, with others has now been sometime laid before his Majesty in Council. I have not yet heard of any Objection to it; but if such should arise, I shall do my utmost to remove them, and

[1] Rev. William Marshall was born about 1740 in Fifeshire. He was minister of the Associate Presbyterian Church, in Philadelphia. He died November 17, 1802. — ED.

obtain the Royal Assent. Believe me, Reverend Sir, to have the warmest Wishes for the Increase of Religious as well as Civil Liberty thro'out the World; and that I am, with great Regard, your most obedient humble Servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

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647. TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN (D. S. W.)

London, Feb. 14, 1773.

MY DEAR CHILD: — I wrote to you a few Days since by the Packet. In a Box directed to Mr. Bache, I send a striped Cotton and Silk Gown for you, of a Manufacture now much the Mode here. There is another for Sally. People line them with some old Silk Gown, and they look very handsome. There goes also a Bedstead for Sally, sent on Capt. All's telling Mrs. Stevenson that you wish'd it had been sent with the Bed. She sends also some little things for Benny-boy.

Now having nothing very material to add, let us trifle a little. The fine large grey Squirrel you sent, who was a great Favourite in the Bishop's Family, is dead. He had got out of his Cage in the Country, rambled, and was rambling over a Common 3 Miles from home, when he met a Man with a Dog. The Dog pursuing him, he fled to the Man for Protection; running up to his Shoulder, who shook him off, and set the Dog on him, thinking him to be, as he said afterward, *some Varment or other*. So poor *Mungo*, as his Mistress call'd him, died. To amuse you a little, and nobody out of your own House, I enclose you the little Correspondence between her and me on the melancholy Occasion.[1]

[1] See letter to Georgiana Shipley, September 26, 1772, Vol. V, p. 438. — ED.

Skugg, you must know is a common Name by which all Squirrels are called here as all cats are called *Puss*. Miss Georgiana is the Bishop's youngest Daughter but one. There are five in all. Mungo was buried in the Garden, and the enclos'd Epitaph put upon his Monument. So much for Squirrels.

My poor Cousin Walker, in Buckinghamshire, is a Lace-maker. She was ambitious of presenting you and Sally with some Netting of her Work; but as I knew she could not afford it, I chose to pay her for it at her usual Price, 3/6 per yard. It goes also in the Box. I name the Price that if it does not suit you to wear it, you may know how to dispose of it.

I have desired Miss Haydock to repay you the £8″6″o Sterling, which I have laid out for her here, on account of her Silk. I think it is not the Colour she desired. I suppose her Relation, Mrs. Forster, who took the Management of it, will give her the Reason.

My Love to Sally and the dear Boy. I am ever your affectionate Husband,

B. FRANKLIN

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648. TO JOSIAH DAVENPORT [1] (D. S. W.)

London, Feb. 14, 1773

LOVING COUSIN: — I am sorry to hear of your Failing in your Business. I hear you now keep a little Shop, and therefore send you 4 Doz. of Evans' Maps, which, if you can sell you are welcome to apply the Money towards Clothing your

[1] Son of Joseph Davenport, who married Franklin's sister Sarah. — ED.

Boys, or to any other Purpose. Enoch seems a solid, sensible Lad, and I hope he will do well. If you will be advis'd [illegible], think of any Place in the Post-Office. The money you receive will slip thro' your Fingers, and you will run behindhand imperceptibly, when your Securities must suffer, or your Employers. I grow too old to run such Risques, and therefore wish you to propose nothing more of the kind to me. I have been hurt too much by endeavouring to help Cousin Ben Mecom. I have no Opinion of the Punctuality of Cousins. They are apt to take Liberties with Relations they would not take with others, from a Confidence that a Relation will not sue them. And tho' I believe you now resolve and intend well in case of such an Appointment, I can have no Dependence that some unexpected Misfortune or Difficulty will not embarras your Affairs and render you again insolvent. Don't take this unkind. It is better to be thus free with you than to give you Expectations that cannot be answered. I should be glad to see you in some Business that would require neither Stock nor Credit and yet might afford a comfortable Subsistence, being ever, your affectionate Uncle,

B. FRANKLIN.

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649. TO JOSEPH GALLOWAY (D. S. W.)

London, Feb. 14. 1773

DEAR FRIEND: — I wrote to you the 6th of last Month in answer to your Favours of Oct. 18 and 30; since which I have no Line from you, the New York January Packet not being yet arrived.

The Bill on Col. Johnston, which I mentioned as likely to be protested, is since paid. The Gentleman trifled about it a good deal; first refus'd to accept it, then came to me and desired it might be sent to him again and he would accept it; then when it became due he wanted longer time. The Drawer, I think, should be inform'd of this, that he may be cautious. The Man seems honestly dispos'd, but appears embarrased in his Money Affairs. This, indeed, is at present a more common Case than usual, owing to the great Blow Paper Credit has received, which first fell upon the India Company, and by degrees became general. Hence, a great Stop of Employment among the Manufacturers, added to the Mischiefs mentioned in mine of Dec. 2, of which retaining the Duty on Tea in America, and thereby the Loss of that Market, are now acknowledg'd to be the Cause. The Ministry now would have the Company save its Honour by petitioning for the Repeal of that Duty; and the Company has it under Consideration. They see Government will be oblig'd, for its own sake, to support them, and therefore must repeal the Duty, whether they petition for it or not, and 't is said they are not willing to ask it as a Favour, lest that should be made a Foundation for some additional Demand upon them. A fine Hobble they are all got into by their unjust and blundering Politics with regard to the Colonies.

I thank you for proposing the two Members I mention'd. I have now some others to propose, viz.: Dr. Barbeu Dubourg of Paris, a Man of very extensive Learning and an excellent Philosopher, who is ambitious of the Honour, as is Lord Stanhope for himself and son, Lord Mahone,[1] who

[1] Dubourg was elected a member of The American Philosophical Society,

will be propos'd by Dr. de Normandic [1]; there is also Mr. Sam'l Dun,[2] a very ingenious Mathematician and universal Mechanic, very fond of America, and would be an Acquisition if we could get him there and employ him: He writes to the Society, and is also very desirous of the honour. There is another Gentleman, who, I believe, would be pleas'd with it, tho' he has not mentioned it; I mean the President of the Royal Society, Sir John Pringle, Bart. It is usual for the Academy of Sciences at Paris always to chuse the president of the English Royal Society one of their Foreign Members, and it is well taken here as a Mark of Respect, and I think it would also be taken by the Society if you should chuse him.[3] By the way, is the Ten Shillings a Year expected of Foreign Members? I have been ask'd that Question. Here no Contribution is taken of them. Enclos'd I send you an Acc[t] of the presenting two more of your Acts to the King in Council. As yet I hear of no Objection to any of the former thirty, of which I sent a List per January Packet as presented Dec. 22. I send the Society some printed Pieces that will be indeed in the next Volume of the Philosophic Transactions here: But as that will not come out till Midsummer, it may be agreable to have them sooner.

With unalterable Attachment, I am ever, my dear Friend, yours most affectionately,

B FRANKLIN

January 28, 1775; Lord Stanhope and Lord Mahon were elected January 21, 1774. — ED.

[1] Dr. John A. De Normandie, of Bristol, Pennsylvania, was elected October 18, 1768. He died in 1803. — ED.

[2] Samuel Dunn (died 1794), author of "New Atlas of the Mundane System." He appears on the title-page of that work as a member of The American Philosophical Society, but there is no record at the society of his election. — ED.

[3] Pringle was not elected. — ED.

650. TO MRS. JANE MECOM (D. S. W.)

London, March 9. 1773

DEAR SISTER: — I received your kind Letter of Dec. 30, and rejoice to find you were well. I may possibly have the great Pleasure of seeing you before the Year is out. I have desired Cousin Williams to give you the Money he may recover from Hall. I would only mention to you that when I was in Boston in 175 [mutilated] Brother John then living, an old Man, whose Name I have forgotten, apply'd to me with a Bond of our Father's of about 15 or 17 Pound, if I remember right, desiring I would pay it, which I declin'd, with this Answer, that as I had never receiv'd anything from the Estate, I did not think myself oblig'd to pay any of the Debts. But I had another Reason, which was that I thought the Care of those Matters belong'd more properly to my Brother. If you know that Person, I wish you would now, out of Hall's Money, pay that Debt; for I remember his Mildness on the Occasion with some Regard. My Love to Jenny. I am ever,

Your affectionate Brother
B. FRANKLIN.

I have not yet seen Capt. Jenkins, but will enquire him out when I next go to the City.

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651. TO THOMAS CUSHING (D. S. W.)

London, March 9, 1773.

SIR,

I did myself the Honour of Writing to you the 2d of December and the 5th of January past. Since which I have re-

ceived your Favour of Nov. 28, inclosing the Votes and Proceedings of the Town of Boston, which I have reprinted here, with a Preface. Herewith I send you a few Copies.

Governor Hutchinson's Speech, at the opening of your Jany Session, has been printed and industriously circulated here by (as I think) the ministerial People, which I take to be no good Sign. The Assembly's Answer to it is not yet arriv'd, and in the mean while it seems to make Impression on the Minds of many not well acquainted with the Dispute. The Tea Duty, however, is under the Consideration of Parliament, for a Repeal on a Petition from the East India Company, and no new Measures have been talked of against America, or are likely to be taken during the present session. I was therefore preparing to return home by the Spring Ships, but have been advis'd by our Friends to stay till the Session is over; as the Commission sent to Rhode Island, and the Discontents in your Province, with the Correspondence of the Towns, may possibly give Rise to something here, when my being on the Spot may be of Use to our Country. I conclude to stay a little longer. In the mean time I must hope, that great Care will be taken to keep our People quiet; since nothing is more wish'd for by our Enemies, than that by Insurrections we should give a good Pretence for increasing the Military among us, and putting us under more severe Restraints. And it must be evident to all, that, by our rapidly increasing Strength, we shall soon become of so much Importance, that none of our just Claims of Privilege will be as heretofore unattended to, nor any Security we can wish for our Rights be deny'd us. With great Respect, I have the Honour to be, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

652. TO BARBEU DUBOURG[1]

London, March 10, 1773.

SIR,

As to the magnetism, which seems produced by electricity, my real opinion is, that these two powers of nature have no affinity with each other, and that the apparent production of magnetism is purely accidental. The matter may be explained thus.

1st. The earth is a great magnet.

2dly. There is a subtile fluid, called the magnetic fluid, which exists in all ferruginous bodies, equally attracted by all their parts, and equally diffused through their whole substance; at least where the equilibrium is not disturbed by a power superior to the attraction of the iron.

3dly. This natural quantity of the magnetic fluid, which is contained in a given piece of iron, may be put in motion so as to be more rarefied in one part and more condensed in another; but it cannot be withdrawn by any force that we are yet made acquainted with, so as to leave the whole in a negative state, at least relatively to its natural quantity; neither can it be introduced so as to put the iron into a positive state, or render it *plus*. In this respect, therefore, magnetism differs from electricity.

4thly. A piece of soft iron allows the magnetic fluid which it contains to be put in motion by a moderate force; so that, being placed in a line with the magnetic pole of the earth, it immediately acquires the properties of a magnet, its magnetic

[1] This letter is translated from M. Dubourg's "Œuvres de M. Franklin" (Tom. I, pp. 277, 312, 332). — ED.

fluid being drawn or forced from one extremity to the other; and this effect continues as long as it remains in the same position, one of its extremities becoming positively magnetized, and the other negatively. This temporary magnetism ceases as soon as the iron is turned east and west, the fluid immediately diffusing itself equally through the whole iron, as in its natural state.

5thly. The magnetic fluid in hard iron, or steel, is put in motion with more difficulty, requiring a force greater than the earth to excite it; and, when once it has been forced from one extremity of the steel to the other, it is not easy for it to return; and thus a bar of steel is converted into a permanent magnet.

6thly. A great heat, by expanding the substance of this steel, and increasing the distance between its particles, affords a passage to the magnetic fluid, which is thus again restored to its proper equilibrium; the bar appearing no longer to possess magnetic virtue.

7thly. A bar of steel, which is not magnetic, being placed in the same position, relatively to the pole of the earth, which the magnetic needle assumes, and in this position being heated and suddenly cooled, becomes a permanent magnet. The reason is, that while the bar was hot, the magnetic fluid which it naturally contained was easily forced from one extremity to the other by the magnetic virtue of the earth; and that the hardness and condensation, produced by the sudden cooling of the bar, retained it in this state without permitting it to resume its original situation.

8thly. The violent vibrations of the particles of a steel bar, when forcibly struck in the same position, separate the particles in such a manner during their vibration, that they

permit a portion of the magnetic fluid to pass, influenced by the natural magnetism of the earth; and it is afterwards so forcibly retained by the re-approach of the particles, when the vibration ceases, that the bar becomes a permanent magnet.

9thly. An electric shock passing through a needle in a like position, and dilating it for an instant, renders it, for the same reason, a permanent magnet; that is, not by imparting magnetism to it, but by allowing its proper magnetic fluid to put itself in motion.

10thly. Thus there is not in reality more magnetism in a given piece of steel after it is become magnetic, than existed in it before. The natural quantity is only displaced or repelled. Hence it follows, that a strong apparatus of magnets may charge millions of bars of steel, without communicating to them any part of its proper magnetism; only putting in motion the magnetism which already existed in these bars.

I am chiefly indebted to that excellent philosopher of Petersburg, Mr. Æpinus,[1] for this hypothesis, which appears to me equally ingenious and solid. I say *chiefly*, because, as it is many years since I read his book, which I have left in America, it may happen, that I may have added to or altered it in some respect; and, if I have misrepresented any thing, the error ought to be charged to my account.

If this hypothesis appears admissible, it will serve as an answer to the greater part of your questions. I have only one remark to add, which is, that, however great the force is of magnetism employed, you can only convert a given

[1] Fr.-Ulrich-Theodore Æpinus (1724–1802), Professor of Physics at St. Petersburg. — ED.

portion of steel into a magnet of a force proportioned to its capacity of retaining its magnetic fluid in the new position in which it is placed, without letting it return. Now this power is different in different kinds of steel, but limited in all kinds whatever.

B. FRANKLIN

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653. TO BARBEU DUBOURG[1]

March 10, 1773.

I SHALL not attempt to explain why damp clothes occasion colds, rather than wet ones, because I doubt the fact; I imagine that neither the one nor the other contribute to this effect, and that the causes of colds are totally independent of wet and even of cold. I propose writing a short paper on this subject, the first moment of leisure I have at my disposal. In the mean time I can only say, that, having some suspicions that the common notion, which attributes to cold the property of stopping the pores and obstructing perspiration, was ill founded, I engaged a young physician,[2] who is making some experiments with Sanctorius's balance, to estimate the different proportions of his perspiration, when remaining one hour quite naked, and another warmly clothed. He pursued the experiment in this alternate manner for eight hours successively, and found his perspiration almost doubled during those hours in which he was naked.

B. FRANKLIN.

[1] Translated from M. Dubourg's "Œuvres de M. Franklin," Vol. II, p. 311. — ED.

[2] Dr. Stark, see p. 47. — ED.

654. TO ABEL JAMES AND BENJAMIN MORGAN (D. S. W.)

London, Mar. 15. 1773

GENTLEMEN: — In mine of Feb. 10, I mentioned a Silk Weaver who was desirous of going to America; and endeavoring to get Subscriptions among his Friends to defray the Expence of his and Family's Passage. He now tells me that they have been so kind as to double the Sum he requested, and that he is to go in Sutton. He takes with him a good Certificate from the Meeting; and I beg leave to recommend him to the Notice and Encouragement of the Silk Committee, as far as they may find him deserving. For tho' it may be most advantageous for our Country, while the Bounty continues so high, to send all our raw Silk hither, yet as the Bounty will gradually diminish and at length cease, I should think it not amiss to begin early the laying a Foundation for the future Manufacture of it; and perhaps this Person, if he finds Employment, may be a means of raising Hands for that purpose. His Name is Joseph Clark.

By the enclos'd you will see when the Silk will probably be sold. I hope to send you a good Account of it, and am, with great Esteem, Gentlemen, your most obed^{t}, hum^{e} serv^{t},

B. F[RANKLIN]

Boys, or to any other Purpose. Enoch seems a solid, sensible Lad, and I hope he will do well. If you will be advis'd [illegible], think of any Place in the Post-Office. The money you receive will slip thro' your Fingers, and you will run behindhand imperceptibly, when your Securities must suffer, or your Employers. I grow too old to run such Risques, and therefore wish you to propose nothing more of the kind to me. I have been hurt too much by endeavouring to help Cousin Ben Mecom. I have no Opinion of the Punctuality of Cousins. They are apt to take Liberties with Relations they would not take with others, from a Confidence that a Relation will not sue them. And tho' I believe you now resolve and intend well in case of such an Appointment, I can have no Dependence that some unexpected Misfortune or Difficulty will not embarras your Affairs and render you again insolvent. Don't take this unkind. It is better to be thus free with you than to give you Expectations that cannot be answered. I should be glad to see you in some Business that would require neither Stock nor Credit and yet might afford a comfortable Subsistence, being ever, your affectionate Uncle,

B. FRANKLIN.

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649. TO JOSEPH GALLOWAY (D. S. W.)

London, Feb. 14. 1773

DEAR FRIEND: — I wrote to you the 6th of last Month in answer to your Favours of Oct. 18 and 30; since which I have no Line from you, the New York January Packet not being yet arrived.

The Bill on Col. Johnston, which I mentioned as likely to be protested, is since paid. The Gentleman trifled about it a good deal; first refus'd to accept it, then came to me and desired it might be sent to him again and he would accept it; then when it became due he wanted longer time. The Drawer, I think, should be inform'd of this, that he may be cautious. The Man seems honestly dispos'd, but appears embarrased in his Money Affairs. This, indeed, is at present a more common Case than usual, owing to the great Blow Paper Credit has received, which first fell upon the India Company, and by degrees became general. Hence, a great Stop of Employment among the Manufacturers, added to the Mischiefs mentioned in mine of Dec. 2, of which retaining the Duty on Tea in America, and thereby the Loss of that Market, are now acknowledg'd to be the Cause. The Ministry now would have the Company save its Honour by petitioning for the Repeal of that Duty; and the Company has it under Consideration. They see Government will be oblig'd, for its own sake, to support them, and therefore must repeal the Duty, whether they petition for it or not, and 't is said they are not willing to ask it as a Favour, lest that should be made a Foundation for some additional Demand upon them. A fine Hobble they are all got into by their unjust and blundering Politics with regard to the Colonies.

I thank you for proposing the two Members I mention'd. I have now some others to propose, viz.: Dr. Barbeu Dubourg of Paris, a Man of very extensive Learning and an excellent Philosopher, who is ambitious of the Honour, as is Lord Stanhope for himself and son, Lord Mahone,[1] who

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London, Feb. 14. 1773

DEAR FRIEND: — I wrote to you the 6th of last Month in answer to your Favours of Oct. 18 and 30; since which I have no Line from you, the New York January Packet not being yet arrived.

The Bill on Col. Johnston, which I mentioned as likely to be protested, is since paid. The Gentleman trifled about it a good deal; first refus'd to accept it, then came to me and desired it might be sent to him again and he would accept it; then when it became due he wanted longer time. The Drawer, I think, should be inform'd of this, that he may be cautious. The Man seems honestly dispos'd, but appears embarrased in his Money Affairs. This, indeed, is at present a more common Case than usual, owing to the great Blow Paper Credit has received, which first fell upon the India Company, and by degrees became general. Hence, a great Stop of Employment among the Manufacturers, added to the Mischiefs mentioned in mine of Dec. 2, of which retaining the Duty on Tea in America, and thereby the Loss of that Market, are now acknowledg'd to be the Cause. The Ministry now would have the Company save its Honour by petitioning for the Repeal of that Duty; and the Company has it under Consideration. They see Government will be oblig'd, for its own sake, to support them, and therefore must repeal the Duty, whether they petition for it or not, and 't is said they are not willing to ask it as a Favour, lest that should be made a Foundation for some additional Demand upon them. A fine Hobble they are all got into by their unjust and blundering Politics with regard to the Colonies.

I thank you for proposing the two Members I mention'd. I have now some others to propose, viz.: Dr. Barbeu Dubourg of Paris, a Man of very extensive Learning and an excellent Philosopher, who is ambitious of the Honour, as is Lord Stanhope for himself and son, Lord Mahone,[1] who

[1] Dubourg was elected a member of The American Philosophical Society,

[1] . . . The Parliament is like to sit till the End of June, as Mr. Cooper tells me. I had thoughts of returning home about that time. The Boston Assembly's Answer to the Governor's Speech, which I have just received, may possibly produce something here to occasion my longer Stay. I am your affectionate Father,

B. FRANKLIN.

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658. TO MRS. SARAH BACHE (D. S. W.)

London, April 6. 1773

DEAR SALLY, I received your pleasing Letter of Jan. 5. I am glad you have undertaken the Care of the Housekeeping, as it will be an Ease to your Mother, especially if you can manage to her Approbation; *that* may perhaps be at first a Difficulty. It will be of Use to you if you get *a Habit* of keeping exact Accounts; and it will be some Satisfaction to me to see them. Remember, for your Encouragement in good œconomy, that whatever a Child saves of its Parents' Money, *will be its own another Day.* Study Poor Richard a little, and you may find some Benefit from his Instructions. I long to be with you all, and to see your Son. I pray God to bless him and you; being ever

Your affectionate Father

B. FRANKLIN

P. S. — Mrs. Stevenson and Daughter send their Love to you. The latter is near lying-in again. Her Boy, my Godson, is a very fine Child, and begins to talk.

[1] Omission of paragraph relating to business with Thomas Wharton. — ED.

659. TO JOSEPH GALLOWAY (D. S. W.)

London, April 6. 1773.

DEAR SIR: — I wrote to you of the 14th Feby and 15th of March, since which I have receiv'd no Line from you. This just serves to cover a Sermon of my Friend the Bishop of St. Asaph. You will find it replete with very liberal Sentiments respecting America. I hope they will prevail here, and be the Foundation of a better Understanding between the two Countries. He is the more to be honour'd by us for this Instance of his Good-Will, as his Censure of the late Conduct towards the Colonies, however tenderly expressed, cannot recommend him at Court, or conduce in the least to his Promotion.

The Parliament is busy about India Affairs, and as yet see no End of the Business. It is thought they will sit till the End of June. An Alliance with France and Spain is talk'd of; and a War with Prussia. But this may blow over. A War with France and Spain would be of more Advantage to American Liberty: Every Step would then be taken to conciliate our Friendship, our Grievances would be redress'd, and our Claims allow'd. And this will be the Case sooner or later. For as the House of Bourbon is most vulnerable in its American Possessions, our hearty Assistance in a War there must be of the greatest Importance.

The Affair of the Grant goes on but slowly. I do not yet clearly see Land. I begin to be a little of the Sailor's Mind when they were handing a Cable out of a Store into a Ship, and one of 'em said: "Tis a long, heavy Cable. I wish we

could see the End of it." "D—n me," says another, "if I believe it has any End; somebody has cut it off."

I beg leave to recommend to your Civilities Mr. Robert Hare,[1] who does me the Favour to carry this Letter. He bears an excellent Character among all that know him here, and purposes settling in America to carry on there the Brewing Business.

With the sincerest Esteem and Affection, I am ever yours,

B. FRANKLIN.

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660. TO REV. THOMAS COOMBE[2] (D. S. W.)

London, April 6. 1773

DEAR FRIEND, I receiv'd a few welcome Lines from you acquainting me with your safe Arrival at Philad[a], and promising me a long Letter, which I suppose has miscarried. So I know nothing of your Reception and Engagements, your Views, Pursuits, or Studies, or what would please you best from hence, new Poetry or new Sermons; for the better chance, therefore of hitting your Taste, I send you a Sample of each, perhaps the best we have had since Pope and Tillotson. The Poetry is allow'd by the Wits here to be neat classical Satyr. Finding a vacant Niche in it, I have, with my Pen, stuck up there a certain Enemy of America. The just, liberal, and benevolent Sentiments in my Friend the Bishop's

[1] He settled in Philadelphia, and became the father of Robert Hare, the inventor of the oxyhydrogen blowpipe. — ED.

[2] Thomas Coombe (1747–1822) was Chaplain to the Marquis of Rockingham (1768–1772), and on his return to America was chosen an assistant minister of Christ Church and St. Peter's, in Philadelphia. — ED.

Sermon, do honour both to his Head and Heart; and the more, as he knows the Doctrine cannot be relish'd at Court, and therefore cannot conduce to his Promotion. My Respects to your good Father, and believe me ever

Your affectionate friend,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. — Give me leave to recommend to your Acquaintance and Civilities, the Bearer, Mr. Robert Hare, who bears an excellent Character here, and has views of Settling in America.

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661. FROM MRS. BEDFORD TO DR. FRANKLIN[1]

(A. P. S.)

Woodbridge February 2, 1773

Honoured Sir

At my Mama's particular request, I take the liberty of writing to you, whom once I could address without ceremony, but the unhappy difference between our families renders that perhaps now more necessary, which would formerly have been looked upon as an Act of Duty. You my Dr Sir — I was ever taught to look upon as the Friend, the Benefactor of one of the best of Parents and he is now no more, and his memory and Actions too soon forgot by some. Yet that hand which so kindly assisted him and thought him worthy when here of friendship, we hope will not forget his family now he is no more. When my Papa died he left something pritty behind him, enough to maintain Mama, and for his Children to enter into the World again. His Estate was no way incumbred, but with those Bonds to Mr. Franklin, as now appears — but which my Mama have frequently heard him say before his Death, were almost discharged, that he had remitted money to Mrs Franklin to near the amount of them, and particularly the last time he went from home he told Mama he believed he had sufficient with him to discharge them. However that be as it will and owing to what cause it may on either side there are now heavy Sums appear due on those Bonds.

We have seen Powers of Attorney in the hands of both Govr Franklin and Mr. Bache to receive and secure the Debt — as soon as the Governor ap-

[1] Jenny Bedford was the daughter of James Parker, printer, of Woodbridge, New Jersey. — ED.

peared we sent in our Account and were ready to settle. — Governor Franklin then took time to send the Account over to you — When we called upon him again he said he had nothing to do with the matter, that Mr Bache had come with a later Power of Attorney, and that we must settle with him. We then furnished Mr Bache with the same Accounts as we had the Governor, who in answer said he could not settle till he had heard farther from you.

Since that we have waited and called upon you again and again — but he says no news from home — and all must be let go till then. Mama thinks it very hard. If interest runs upon the Bonds they have almost consumed the Estate — tho this is what we principally want to know — papa in his Books mentions it, that if Interest is charged upon his Bonds to Mr. Franklin — he thinks it but reasonable he should have commissions upon the Business he did for him — now what business he did — or what commissions to charge we know not, as he kept no Account of it — and therefore we would wish to know from yourself wether (*sic*) or not we must pay Interest upon the Bonds, and if we do — wether it is reasonable we should from the time that we have been ready to settle them — it will make an odds in the Interest. . . . We should not have troubled or wrote to you, good Sir, was it not for Mamas great anxiety to have her Affairs settled, and her particular desire that you should in some measure be concerned in them that she may know from yourself what she may depend on as to your accounts; as she finds some difficulty in settling them in her present situation. She is now advanced in Years and afflicted, and would willingly live in peace, and she thinks if those Bonds were discharged she could be happy as they are the only incumbrance on the Estate, but which tho we fear will eat the most of it up. — She sincerely joins with me in much love and gratitude for your many favours, as would Mr. Bedford, the person whom I am so happy to call Husband, were he present — a Gentleman tho unknown to you yet I flatter myself whose good qualities would recommend to your favour — permit me therefore for him — with to wish you many happy years and a safe return to your Family and Friends,

From Honor'd Sir

Your affectionate
humble Servant
Jennie Bedford.

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662. TO MRS. BEDFORD[1] (P. C.)

London, April 9, 1773.

DEAR JENKY,

For so I must still call you, tho' you seem a little angry with me. — I received your Letter of Feb. 2, and shall

[1] From the private collection of Mr. John Boyd Thacher, of Albany. — ED.

examine the Accounts that are sent me from your Books, and write to you fully upon them very soon. In the mean time, you and Mrs Parker may be assured that nothing will be expected or desired on my Part inconsistent with the Regard I always had for her and you, and the ancient Friendship that so long subsisted between Mr Parker and me, whose Memory as an honest, worthy Man I shall always honour. The Power of Attorney you mention and seem to take amiss, was a general one, to settle Accounts for me with any Person in my Absence: But since your Accounts are sent to me, I will endeavour to settle them myself: And desiring nothing but what is just, shall be more pleas'd to find little due to me than much. In a Letter some years since to Mr Parker, I gave my Reasons for expecting his Bond, bearing Interest whenever I advanc'd considerable Sums of Money for him, viz., because to serve him I took my Money out of other Hands where it bore Interest; — and when I bought Goods for him here, and paid my Money for them, I charg'd no Profit or Commissions upon them, being no Merchant. Any Business he did for me, I always was and shall be willing to allow for, to Satisfaction, in Money; as well as to return Kindness for Kindness: But I think it contributes to the Duration of Friendship, to keep *its* Accounts & those of Business, distinct & separate, and that as exact Justice in Pounds Shillings and Pence should be observed between Friends as between Strangers. — I always intended making Mr Parker an Allowance for the Time he spent and the Trouble he took in settling my Accounts with Mr Hall after I left America. This is the only thing I at present recollect unsatisfy'd. But if Mrs Parker, or you, or I myself, can find or recollect anything else, it shall be

allow'd for. And notwithstanding what is said above, of Interest, I think with Mrs Parker that from the Time she render'd the Accounts, and offer'd as you say to pay the Ballance, no Interest should be charged. I received also for him here £64: 3.0 Sterling, on Jan 14. 1772. from which time the Interest of that Sum must be struck off in the Bonds. It was upon my Application here that the Quarter's Salary after your good Father's Death, was allowed, and if it is not yet paid, it will be: I suppose Mr Potts has desired Mr Colden to receive for the Newspapers. If so, I think you had better pay it there out of the Money you are to receive from the Office. If not, I will pay him here, as you desire it. Present my affectionate Respects to your good Mother, and my Compliments to Mr Bedford tho' unknown, to whom with yourself I wish all Happiness in your Marriage; being ever, with sincere Regard

Your affectionate Friend

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. — The £135,,0 . 0 remitted in March, 1770, was part of a Bill of £250 Sterl'g Watts & McEvers on Messrs Harley and Drummond, dated Feb. 28 1770. concerning which your Father thus writes to me in his Letter of March 8.

"This covers a Bill of 250£ Sterl'^g^ Exch. 67½. so that it rises here. — Of this Bill the Sum of £135 this Money is on Account of B. Mecom's Books sold at Auction; and the remaining £283,,15,,0 the same Money, is on the Post-Office Account, the Bill having cost £418,,5,,0. As soon as the Acc^t^ of the Auction can be made out, I shall send you a particular Account of every Article; tho' I believe there will be little more net Proceeds when all Charges are paid. —

However, you will see. And if this be more than the net Proceeds I will debit your Acc^{t} for the Ballance; and if less will debit my own Acc^{t}, and credit you for it. This is all the Money I've yet got in." —

I suppose you may find by his Books how this Acc^{t} was closed. — B F.

You speak of a Difference between our Families. I have never heard of such a Thing but in your Letter, and wonder at it. —

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663. TO DEAN WOODWARD[1] (A. P. S.)

London, April 10, 1773.

Rev^{D} Sir,

Desirous of being reviv'd in your Memory, I take this Opportunity by my good Friend Mrs. Blacker, of sending you a printed Piece, and a Manuscript, both on a Subject you and I frequently convers'd upon, with similar Sentiments, when I had the Pleasure of seeing you in Dublin. I have since had the Satisfaction to learn that a Disposition to abolish Slavery prevails in North America, that many of the Pennsylvanians have set their Slaves at Liberty, and that even the Virginia Assembly have petitioned the King for Permission to make a Law for preventing the Importation of more into that Colony. This Request however, will probably not be granted, as their former Laws of that kind have always been repealed, and as the Interest of a few Merchants here has more weight with Government, than that of Thousands at a Distance.

[1] Richard Woodward (1726–1794); Dean of Clogher (1764–1781); Chancellor of St. Patrick's, 1772; Bishop of Cloyne (1781–1794). — Ed.

Witness a late Fact. The Goal Distemper being frequently imported and spread in Virginia, by the Ships transporting Convicts, occasioning the Death of many honest, innocent People there, a Law was made to oblige those Ships arriving with that Distemper to perform a quarantine. But the two Merchants of London, Contractors in that Business, alledging that this might increase the Expence of their Voyages, the Law was at their instance repealed here. With great Esteem and Respect, I have the Honour to be, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

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664. TO WILLIAM DEANE (A. P. S.)

London, April 11, 1773.

DEAR SIR,

Miss Martin that was, now Mrs. Blacker, being about to return to Dublin, I cannot omit the Opportunity it gives me of chatting a little with one whose Conversation afforded me while I was there, so much Pleasure and Instruction.

I know of nothing new here, worth communicating to you, unless perhaps the new Art of making Carriage Wheels, the Fellies of one Piece bent into a Circle and surrounded by a Hoop of Iron, the whole very light and strong, there being no cross'd Grain in the Wood, which is also a great Saving of Timber. The Wood is first steam'd in the Vapour from boiling Water, and then bent by a forcible Machine. I have seen pieces so bent of 6 Inches wide, and 3½ thick, into a Circle of 4 feet diameter. These, for Duration, can only be exceeded by your Iron Wheels. Pray, have you compleated that ingenious Invention?

What is become of honest Mr. Kettilby? Does he go on

with his Printing Schemes, or has he got into some better Employment?[1]

They tell us here that some Person with you has discovered a new moving Power, that may be of Use in mechanical Operations; that it consists in the Explosion of Iron Tears chill'd suddenly from the melting State in cold Water. That Explosion I have often seen in Drops of Glass with Wonder, understanding it no more than they did in the Time of Hudibras, who makes a Simile of it, which I repeat because tis probably so long since you read it,

> "*Honour* is like that glassy Bubble,
> That gives Philosophers such Trouble
> Whose least part crack'd, the whole does fly,
> And Wits are crack'd to find out why."

May I ask you, if you know any thing of the Application of this Power, of which I have not at present the smallest Conception?

I have compleated my Stove, in which the Smoke of the Coal is all turn'd into Flame, operates as Fuel & in heating the Room. I have us'd it all this Winter; and find it answer even beyond my Expectation. I purpose to print a little Description of its Use and Construction, & shall send you a Copy.

I hope *Billy and Jenny* continue & will always continue as happy as when I knew them. My best Wishes attend them, being ever, with sincere Esteem,

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

B. F[RANKLIN.]

[1] J. Kettilby, printer, Mitre Alley, Dublin, inventor of new forms of type. — ED.

665. TO BARBEU DUBOURG[1]

YOUR observations on the causes of death, and the experiments which you propose for recalling to life those who appear to be killed by lightning, demonstrate equally your sagacity and your humanity. It appears that the doctrines of life and death in general are yet but little understood.

A toad buried in sand will live, it is said, till the sand becomes petrified; and then, being enclosed in the stone, it may still live for we know not how many ages. The facts which are cited in support of this opinion are too numerous, and too circumstantial, not to deserve a certain degree of credit. As we are accustomed to see all the animals with which we are acquainted eat and drink, it appears to us difficult to conceive how a toad can be supported in such a dungeon; but if we reflect that the necessity of nourishment which animals experience in their ordinary state proceeds from the continual waste of their substance by perspiration, it will appear less incredible that some animals in a torpid state, perspiring less because they use no exercise, should have less need of aliment; and that others, which are covered with scales or shells, which stop perspiration, such as land and sea turtles, serpents, and some species of fish, should be able to subsist a considerable time without any nourishment whatever. A plant, with its flowers, fades and dies immediately, if exposed to the air without having its root immersed in a humid soil, from which it may draw a suffi-

[1] Translated from M. Dubourg's "Œuvres de M. Franklin" (1773), Vol. I, p. 327. It is without date, but the letter to which it is an answer is dated April 15th, 1773. — ED.

cient quantity of moisture to supply that which exhales from its substance and is carried off continually by the air. Perhaps, however, if it were buried in quicksilver, it might preserve for a considerable space of time its vegetable life, its smell, and colour. If this be the case, it might prove a commodious method of transporting from distant countries those delicate plants, which are unable to sustain the inclemency of the weather at sea, and which require particular care and attention. I have seen an instance of common flies preserved in a manner somewhat similar. They had been drowned in Madeira wine, apparently about the time when it was bottled in Virginia, to be sent hither (to London). At the opening of one of the bottles, at the house of a friend where I then was, three drowned flies fell into the first glass that was filled. Having heard it remarked that drowned flies were capable of being revived by the rays of the sun, I proposed making the experiment upon these; they were therefore exposed to the sun upon a sieve, which had been employed to strain them out of the wine. In less than three hours, two of them began by degrees to recover life. They commenced by some convulsive motions of the thighs, and at length they raised themselves upon their legs, wiped their eyes with their fore feet, beat and brushed their wings with their hind feet, and soon after began to fly, finding themselves in Old England, without knowing how they came thither. The third continued lifeless till sunset, when, losing all hopes of him, he was thrown away.

I wish it were possible, from this instance, to invent a method of embalming drowned persons, in such a manner that they may be recalled to life at any period, however distant; for having a very ardent desire to see and observe the

state of America a hundred years hence, I should prefer to any ordinary death, the being immersed in a cask of Madeira wine, with a few friends, till that time, to be then recalled to life by the solar warmth of my dear country! But since in all probability we live in an age too early and too near the infancy of science, to hope to see such an art brought in our time to its perfection, I must for the present content myself with the treat, which you are so kind as to promise me, of the resurrection of a fowl or a turkey cock.

I am, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

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666. TO BARBEU DUBOURG AND THOMAS FRANÇOIS DALIBARD [1]

MY DEAR FRIENDS,

My answer to your questions concerning the mode of rendering meat tender by electricity, can only be founded upon conjecture; for I have not experiments enough to warrant the facts. All that I can say at present is, that I think electricity might be employed for this purpose, and I shall state what follows as the observations or reasons which make me presume so.

It has been observed that lightning, by rarefying and reducing into vapour the moisture contained in solid wood, in an oak, for instance, has forcibly separated its fibres, and broken it into small splinters; that, by penetrating intimately

[1] This letter has no date, but the one to which it is an answer is dated May 1st, 1773. — S. It is translated from Dubourg "Œuvres de M. Franklin," I, 332. — ED.

the hardest metals, as iron, it has separated the parts in an instant, so as to convert a perfect solid into a state of fluidity; it is not then improbable, that the same subtile matter, passing through the bodies of animals with rapidity, should possess sufficient force to produce an effect nearly similar.

The flesh of animals, fresh killed in the usual manner, is firm, hard, and not in a very eatable state, because the particles adhere too forcibly to each other. At a certain period, the cohesion is weakened, and, in its progress towards putrefaction, which tends to produce a total separation, the flesh becomes what we call tender, or is in that state most proper to be used as our food.

It has frequently been remarked, that animals killed by lightning putrefy immediately. This cannot be invariably the case, since a quantity of lightning, sufficient to kill, may not be sufficient to tear and divide the fibres and particles of flesh, and reduce them to that tender state, which is the prelude to putrefaction. Hence it is, that some animals killed in this manner will keep longer than others. But the putrefaction sometimes proceeds with surprising celerity. A respectable person assured me that he once knew a remarkable instance of this. A whole flock of sheep in Scotland, being closely assembled under a tree, were killed by a flash of lightning; and, it being rather late in the evening, the proprietor, desirous of saving something, sent persons early the next morning to flay them; but the putrefaction was such, and the stench so abominable, that they had not the courage to execute their orders, and the bodies were accordingly buried in their skins. It is not unreasonable to presume, that, between the period of their death and that of their putrefaction, a time intervened in which the flesh might be

only tender, and only sufficiently so to be served at table. Add to this, that persons, who have eaten of fowls killed by our feeble imitation of lightning (electricity), and dressed immediately, have asserted, that the flesh was remarkably tender.

The little utility of this practice has perhaps prevented its being much adopted. For, though it sometimes happens, that a company unexpectedly arriving at a country-house, or an unusual conflux of travellers to an inn, may render it necessary to kill a number of animals for immediate use; yet, as travellers have commonly a good appetite, little attention has been paid to the trifling inconvenience of having their meat a little tough. As this kind of death is nevertheless more sudden, and consequently less severe, than any other, if this should operate as a motive with compassionate persons to employ it for animals sacrificed for their use, they may conduct the process thus.

Having prepared a battery of six large glass jars (each from twenty to twenty-four pints) as for the Leyden experiment, and having established a communication, as usual, from the interior surface of each with the prime conductor, and having given them a full charge (which, with a good machine, may be executed in a few minutes, and may be estimated by an electrometer), a chain which communicates with the exterior of the jars must be wrapped round the thighs of the fowl; after which the operator, holding it by the wings, turned back and made to touch behind, must raise it so high that the head may receive the first shock from the prime conductor. The animal dies instantly. Let the head be immediately cut off to make it bleed, when it may be plucked and dressed immediately. This quantity of electricity is supposed suffi-

cient for a turkey of ten pounds weight, and perhaps for a lamb. Experience alone will inform us of the requisite proportions for animals of different forms and ages. Probably not less will be required to render a small bird, which is very old, tender, than for a larger one, which is young. It is easy to furnish the requisite quantity of electricity, by employing a greater or less number of jars. As six jars, however, discharged at once, are capable of giving a very violent shock, the operator must be very circumspect, lest he should happen to make the experiment on his own flesh, instead of that of the fowl.

B. FRANKLIN.

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667. TO BARBEU DUBOURG[1]

May 4, 1773.

—— THE young physician[2] whom I mentioned is dead, and all the notes which he had left of his curious experiments are by some accident lost between our friends Sir John Pringle and Dr. Huck (Saunders);[3] but these gentlemen, if the papers cannot be recovered, it is to be presumed, will repeat the experiments themselves.[4]

B. FRANKLIN.

[1] Translated from M. Dubourg's "Œuvres de M. Franklin" (1773), Vol. II, p. 312. — ED.

[2] William Stark (1740–1770). — ED.

[3] Richard Huck-Saunders (1720–1785), physician to the British Army in America, under Lord Loudoun, during the Seven Years' War. He was born Huck; he married Jane, niece and heiress of Admiral Sir Charles Saunders, and assumed the name of Saunders. — ED.

[4] "The works of the late William Stark . . . consisting of clinical and anatomical Observations with Experiments Dietetical and Statistical," edited by James Carmichael Smyth, London, 1788. — ED.

668. TO THOMAS CUSHING (D. S. W.)

London, May 6, 1773.

SIR,

I have received none of your Favours since that of Nov 28. I have since written to you of the following Dates, Dec. 2, Jan. 5, March 9, and April 3, which I hope got safe to hand.

The Council and Assembly's Answers to Govr Hutchinson's Speech I caused to be printed here, as soon as I received them. His Reply I see since printed also, but their Rejoinder is not yet come. If he intended, by reviving that Dispute, to recommend himself here, he has greatly missed his Aim; for the Administration are chagrin'd with his Officiousness, their Intention having been to let all Contention subside, and by degrees suffer Matters to return to the old Channel. They are now embarras'd by his Proceedings; for, if they lay the governor's Dispatches, containing the Declaration of the General Court, before Parliament, they apprehend Measures may be taken that will widen the Breach; which would be more particularly inconvenient at this Time, when the disturbed State of Europe gives some Apprehensions of a general War. On the other hand, if they do not lay them before Parliament, they give Advantage to Opposition against themselves on some future Occasion, in a Charge of criminal Neglect. Some say he must be a Fool; others, that thro' some Misinformation he certainly supposed Lord Hillsborough to be again in Office.

Yesterday I had a conversation with Lord D[artmouth], of which I think it right to give you some Account. On my saying that I had no late Advices from Boston, and asking

if his Lordship had any, he said, None since the Governor's second Speech; but what Difficulties says he, that Gentleman has brought us all into by his Imprudence! — tho' I suppose he meant well; yet what can now be done? It is impossible, that Parliament can suffer such a Declaration of the General Assembly, asserting its Independency, to pass unnotic'd. In my opinion, says I, it would be better and more prudent to take no Notice of it. It is *Words* only. Acts of Parliament are still submitted to there. No Force is us'd to obstruct their Execution. And while that is the Case, Parliament would do well to turn a deaf Ear, and seem not to know that such Declarations had ever been made. Violent Measures against the Province will not change the Opinion of the People. Force could do no good. I do not know, says he, that Force would be thought of; but perhaps an Act may pass to lay them under some Inconveniences, till they rescind that Declaration. Can they not withdraw it? I wish they could be persuaded to reconsider the Matter, and do it of themselves, voluntarily, and thus leave things between us on the old Footing, the Points undiscuss'd. Don't you think, (continues his L^{p}), such a thing possible. No, my Lord, says I, I think it impossible. If they were even to wish Matters back in the Situation before the Govr Speech, and the Dispute obliterated, they cannot withdraw their Answers till he first withdraws his Speech, which methinks would be an awkward Operation, that perhaps he will hardly be directed to perform. As to an Act of Parliament, laying that Country under Inconveniences, it is likely that it will only put them as heretofore upon inventing some Method of incommoding this Country till the Act is repealed; and so we shall go on injuring and provoking each other, instead of cul-

state of America a hundred years hence, I should prefer to any ordinary death, the being immersed in a cask of Madeira wine, with a few friends, till that time, to be then recalled to life by the solar warmth of my dear country! But since in all probability we live in an age too early and too near the infancy of science, to hope to see such an art brought in our time to its perfection, I must for the present content myself with the treat, which you are so kind as to promise me, of the resurrection of a fowl or a turkey cock.

I am, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

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666. TO BARBEU DUBOURG AND THOMAS FRANÇOIS DALIBARD[1]

MY DEAR FRIENDS,

My answer to your questions concerning the mode of rendering meat tender by electricity, can only be founded upon conjecture; for I have not experiments enough to warrant the facts. All that I can say at present is, that I think electricity might be employed for this purpose, and I shall state what follows as the observations or reasons which make me presume so.

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healing our Differences, his Lordship said, I do not see any thing of more Service, than prevailing on the Gen. Assembly, if you can do it, to withdraw their Answers to the Governor's Speech. There is not, says I, the least Probability they will ever do that: For the Country is all of one Mind upon the Subject. Perhaps the Governor may have represented to your Lordship, that these are the Opinions of a Party only, and that great Numbers are of different Sentiments, which may in time prevail. But, if he does not deceive himself, he deceives your Lordship: For in both Houses, notwithstanding all the Influence appertaining to his Office, there was not, in sending up those Answers, a single dissenting Voice. I do not recollect, says his L^p^, that the Governor has written any thing of that kind. I am told, however, by gentlemen from that Country, who pretend to know it, that there are many of the Governor's Opinion, but they dare not show their Sentiments. I never heard, says I, that any one has suffered Violence for siding with the Governor. Not Violence, perhaps, says his Lordship, but they are revil'd and held in Contempt, and People don't care to incur the Disesteem and Displeasure of their Neighbours.

As I knew Govr Bernard had been in with his Lordship just before me, I tho't he was probably one of these Gentlemen Informants, and therefore said, People, who are engaged in any Party or have advis'd any Measures, are apt to magnify the Numbers of those they would have understood as approving their Measures. His Lordship said, that was natural to suppose might be the present Case; for, whoever observ'd the Conduct of Parties here, must have seen it a constant Practice; and he agreed with me, that, tho' a *Nemine Contradicente* did not prove the absolute Agreement of every

state of America a hundred years hence, I should prefer to any ordinary death, the being immersed in a cask of Madeira wine, with a few friends, till that time, to be then recalled to life by the solar warmth of my dear country! But since in all probability we live in an age too early and too near the infancy of science, to hope to see such an art brought in our time to its perfection, I must for the present content myself with the treat, which you are so kind as to promise me, of the resurrection of a fowl or a turkey cock.

I am, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

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666. TO BARBEU DUBOURG AND THOMAS FRANÇOIS DALIBARD [1]

MY DEAR FRIENDS,

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the hardest metals, as iron, it has separated the parts in an instant, so as to convert a perfect solid into a state of fluidity; it is not then improbable, that the same subtile matter, passing through the bodies of animals with rapidity, should possess sufficient force to produce an effect nearly similar.

The flesh of animals, fresh killed in the usual manner, is firm, hard, and not in a very eatable state, because the particles adhere too forcibly to each other. At a certain period, the cohesion is weakened, and, in its progress towards putrefaction, which tends to produce a total separation, the flesh becomes what we call tender, or is in that state most proper to be used as our food.

It has frequently been remarked, that animals killed by lightning putrefy immediately. This cannot be invariably the case, since a quantity of lightning, sufficient to kill, may not be sufficient to tear and divide the fibres and particles of flesh, and reduce them to that tender state, which is the prelude to putrefaction. Hence it is, that some animals killed in this manner will keep longer than others. But the putrefaction sometimes proceeds with surprising celerity. A respectable person assured me that he once knew a remarkable instance of this. A whole flock of sheep in Scotland, being closely assembled under a tree, were killed by a flash of lightning; and, it being rather late in the evening, the proprietor, desirous of saving something, sent persons early the next morning to flay them; but the putrefaction was such, and the stench so abominable, that they had not the courage to execute their orders, and the bodies were accordingly buried in their skins. It is not unreasonable to presume, that, between the period of their death and that of their putrefaction, a time intervened in which the flesh might be

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to the King, and a Letter to Lord Dartmouth. On considering the whole, I concluded that a longer Delay of presenting the first Petition and Remonstrance was not likely to answer any good Purpose, and therefore immediately waited on Lord Dartmouth, and deliver'd to him the Letter, and the second Petition, at the same time re-delivering the first, and press'd his Lordship to present them to his Majesty, which he promised to do.

Enclos'd I send you the Answer I have just receiv'd from him, as this Day's Packet (the Mail for which is to be made up and dispatch'd in a few Hours) is the earliest Opportunity, the Ships for Boston not being to sail till the Beginning of next Week. By one of them I shall send a Copy, with what Observations occur to me on the Occasion, which the time will not now permit me to write. In the mean while I would just beg leave to say, that I hope the House will come to no hasty Resolves upon it. The longer they deliberate, the more maturely they consider, the greater Weight will attend their Resolutions. With sincere Respect, I am, Sir, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

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672. TO THOMAS CUSHING (D. S. W.)

London, June 4, 1773.

SIR,

The above is a Copy of mine per Packet, which inclos'd the Original of his Majesty's Answer to our Petitions and Remonstrance. I now send an exact Copy of the same, which I did intend to accompany with some Observations, and my Sentiments on the general State of our Affairs in this

Country, and the Conduct proper for us to hold on this Occasion. But, beginning to write, I find the Matter too copious, and the Subject (on Reflection) too important, to be treated in a hasty Letter; and being told the Ships sail to-morrow, I must postpone it to another Opportunity.

It was thought at the Beginning of the Session, that the American Duty on Tea would be taken off. But now the wise Scheme is to take off so much Duty here, as will make Tea cheaper in America than Foreigners can supply us, and to confine the Duty there to keep up the Exercise of the Right. They have no Idea that any People can act from any other Principle but that of Interest; and they believe, that 3d in a lb of Tea, of which one does not perhaps drink 10 in a Year, is sufficient to overcome all the Patriotism of an American.

I purpose soon to write you very fully. As to the Letters [1] I communicated to you, tho' I have not been able to obtain Leave to take Copies or publish them, I have permission to let the Originals remain with you, as long as you may think it of any Use to have them in Possession. With great Esteem, and Respect, I have the Honour to be, Sir, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

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673. FROM SAMUEL COOPER TO B. FRANKLIN (B. M.)

Boston, June 14, 1773.

DEAR SIR,

. . . . . .

WE have received high eulogiums upon the replies of our Council and Commons from gentlemen of the most respectable characters in the other colonies, where there evidently appears an increasing regard for this province,

[1] Letters from Governor Hutchinson and others. — ED.

and an inclination to unite for the common safety. Virginia has led the way, by proposing a communication and correspondence between all the Assemblies thro' the continent. The letter from their committee for this purpose was received here with no little joy, and the proposal agreed to in the most ready and respectful manner. Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Hampshire have already chosen committees, so that all New England is now united with Virginia in this salutary plan, and the accession of most, if not all, the other colonies is not doubted. This opens a most agreeable prospect to the friends of our common rights.

In my last, I mentioned to you my having had a sight of some letters, that had been transmitted to the Speaker with leave to communicate them to me, and some others in confidence. I soon apprehended from the nature of the contents, and the number of persons to whom they were directed to be shown, that they could not long remain secret. However, I have preserved inviolable the trust reposed in me. Some, not named by you as confidants, had hints from London that such letters were come or coming, and began to suspect they were concealed in favour of the writers. The secret was kept till the meeting of the General Court, when so many members had obtained such general intimations of it, as to render them extremely inquisitive and solicitous. At last it was thought best to communicate them to the House, with the restrictions that accompanied them here. The House could not act upon them with those restrictions, but the substance of them was known everywhere, and the alarm given. Soon after, copies of them were brought into the House, said to have come from England by the last ships.

Many members scrupled to act upon these copies, while they were under such public engagements to the unknown proprietor of the originals. As the matter was now so public, and the restrictions could answer no good end, no view of the sender, but on the contrary might prevent in a great measure a proper improvement of the letters for the public benefit, and for weakening the influence and power of the writers and their friends, and disarming their revenge, it was judged most expedient, by the gentlemen to whom they were first shown, to allow the House such a use of the originals, as they might think necessary to found their proceedings upon for the common safety. By whom and to whom they were sent is still a secret, known only to three persons here, and may still remain so, if you desire it.

I forgot to mention, that, upon the first appearance of the letters in the House, they voted, by a majority of one hundred and one to five, that the design and tendency of them were to subvert the constitution, and introduce arbitrary power. Their committee upon this matter reported this day a number of resolutions, which are to be printed by to-morrow morning, and every member furnished with a copy, that they may compare them with the letters; and to-morrow at 3 o'clock P. M. is the time appointed to decide upon the report. The acceptance of it by a great majority is not doubted.

Should the vessel that is to carry this letter remain long enough, I will

send you copy of the resolutions. Nothing could have been more seasonable, than the arrival of these letters. They have had great effect; they make deep impressions wherever they are known; they strip the mask from the writers, who, under the professions of friendship to their country, now plainly appear to have been endeavouring to build up themselves and their families upon its ruins. They and their adherents are shocked and dismayed; the confidence reposed in them by many is annihilated; and administration must soon see the necessity of putting the provincial power of the crown into other hands, if they mean it should operate to any good effect. This, at present, is almost the universal sentiment.

The House have this day sent up the letters to the Board, which, I believe, will concur with them in the substance and spirit of their proceedings. We are highly indebted to our friends in London, and to you, Sir, in particular, for so important a communication, and hope, while it supports the cause of truth and justice, and promotes the deliverance of this abused and oppressed country, it will be attended with no disadvantage to them.

The inconveniences, that may accidentally arise from such generous interpositions, are abundantly compensated by the reflection, that they tend to the security and happiness of millions. I trust, however, that nothing of this kind will occur to disturb the agreeable feelings of those, who, in this instance, have done such extensive good. With great esteem, I am, &c.

SAMUEL COOPER.

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674. TO JEAN BAPTISTE LE ROY (A. P. S.)

London, June 22, 1773

HOWEVER glad I was of the Occasion, I forbore indulging myself in the Pleasure of congratulating by the first Post, my dear double *Confrère*, on his Election into our Royal Society; because Mr. Walsh undertook to give you the Information, which would make a Second Expence unnecessary, and I saw I should soon have this opportunity by the favour of M. Poissonnier.[1] I rejoice in the Event, as you seemed anxiously

[1] Pierre Poissonnier (1720–1798) succeeded Dubois as Professor of Chemistry in the College of France, 1747. He became in 1754 Inspector of military hospitals. — ED.

concern'd about it, and as we have done ourselves Honour in distinguishing and associating a Merit so universally known and acknowledg'd.

I am pleas'd to hear you are engag'd in the Consideration of Hospitals. I wish any Observations of mine could be of Use to you, they should be at your Service. But 'tis a Subject I am very little acquainted with. I can only say, that, if a free & copious Perspiration is of Use in Diseases, that seems, from the Experiments I mention'd to M. Dubourg, to be best obtain'd by light covering & fresh Air continually changing: The Moisture on the Skin when the Body is warmly covered, being a Deception, and the Effect not of greater Transpiration, but of the Saturation of the Air included under & in the Bedclothes, which therefore can absorb no more, and so leaves it on the Surface of the Body. From those Experiments I am convinc'd of what I indeed before suspected, that the Opinion of Perspiration being check'd by Cold is an Error, as well as that of Rheum being occasion'd by Cold. But as this is Heresy here, and perhaps may be so with you, I only whisper it, and expect you will keep my Secret. Our Physicians have begun to discover that fresh Air is good for People in the Small-Pox & other Fevers. I hope in time they will find out that it does no harm to People in Health.

We have nothing new here in the philosophic Way. I shall like to hear how M. Lavoisier's Doctrine supports itself as I suppose it will be controverted.

With the greatest Esteem, I am ever, Dear Sir,

Yours most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. Enclos'd I send you some Pamphlets relative to our

American Affairs for your Amusement. Sir John Pringle bids me present his compl^ts^. He interested himself much in the Election.

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675. TO BARBEU DUBOURG (A. P. S.)

London June 29, 1773.

DEAR FRIEND,

. . . [1] I HAVE not time now to write what I intend upon the Cause of Colds, or Rheums, and my Opinions on that Head are so singular here, that I am almost afraid to hazard them abroad. In the mean time, be so kind as to tell me at your leisure, whether in France, you have a general Belief that moist Air, and cold Air, and damp Shirts or Sheets, and wet Floors, and Beds that have not lately been used, and Clothes that have not been lately worn, and going out of a warm Room into the Air, and leaving off a long-worn Waste-coat, and wearing leaky Shoes, and sitting near an open Window, or Door, or in a Coach with both Glasses down, are all or any of them capable of giving the Distemper we call *a Cold*, and you *a Rheum*, or *Catarrh?* Or are these merely *English* ideas? . . .

I am ever, with the greatest Esteem and Respect,
Dear Sir, yours, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

[1] The first paragraph of the letter contains a list of *errata* in the French translation of the Works of Franklin. —ED.

676. PREPARATORY NOTES AND HINTS FOR WRITING A PAPER CONCERNING WHAT IS CALLED CATCHING COLD (L. C.)

DEFINITION OF A COLD

It is a Siziness and thickness of the Blood, whereby the smaller Vessels are obstructed, and the Perspirable Matter retained, which being retained offends both by its Quantity and Quality; by Quantity, as it overfills the Vessels, and by its Quality, as part of it is acrid, and being retained, produces Coughs and Sneezing by Irritation.

HOW THIS SIZINESS IS PRODUC'D

1. By being long expos'd in a cold Air, without Exercise; cold thickens Glew.

2. By a diminish'd Perspiration, either 1. from breathing and living in moist Air, or, 2, from a clogging of the Pores by clammy Sweat dry'd on and fastning down the Scales of the Skin; or, 3, by Cold constringing the Pores partially or totally, sleeping or waking; or, 4, by having eat foods of too gross Particles for free Persp^{n}, as Oysters, Pork, Ducks, &c. People are found frequently costive after much bathing.

3. By Repletion, as when more is thrown into the Habit by Eating and Drinking than common Persp^{n} is capable of Discharging in due time; whence the Vessels are distended beyond their Spring, and the Quantity of contained Fluid, that should be briskly moved to preserve or acquire a due Thinness, is too weighty for their Force, whence a slow Motion, — thence viscidity. This Repletion is increased by a Constipa-

tion of the Belly happening at the same time. In an approaching cold, more water is made than usual.

By cooling suddenly in the Air after Exercise. Exercise quickening the Circulation, produces more perspirable Matter in a given time, than is produced in rest. And tho' more is likewise usually discharg'd during Exercise, yet on sudden quitting of Exercise, and standing in the Air, the Circulation and Production of perspirable matter still continuing some time, the over Quantity is retain'd. It is safer not to go into Water too cold.

4. By particular Effluvia in the Air, from some unknown Cause. General Colds thro'out a Country. By being in a Coach close, or small Room with a Person having a Cold.

5. By Relaxation of the Solids, from a warm and moist Air, so that they are too weak to give due Motion to the Fluids.

Of partial Colds affecting parts only of the Body.

Causes of Feverishness attending Colds.

Ill Consequences often attending Colds, as Pleurisies, Consumptions, &c. Some never take cold, some frequently; causes of the Difference.

Present Remedies for a Cold should be warming, diluting, bracing.

Means of preventing Colds; Temperance, Choice of Meats and Drinks, warm Rooms, and Lodging, and Clothing in Winter; dry Air, Care to keep the Belly open, and frequent Discharge of Water; warm Bathing to cleanse the Skin; rubbing after Sweat, especially in the Spring.

Difficulties that first put me on thinking on this Subject. People get cold by less, and not by more, viz.

By putting on a damp Shirt on a dry Body, — Yes.

By putting on a dry Shirt on a wet Body, tho' this wets the shirt ten times more, — No.

By sitting in a Room, where the Floor has been newly wash'd, — Yes.

By going into a River, and staying there an Hour (no Sheets so wet), — No.

By wetting the feet only, — Yes.

By wetting all the Clothes thro' to the Body, and wearing them a whole Day, — No.

By sitting in a Room against a Crevice, — Yes.

By sitting as long in the open Air, — No.

Few of these Causes take place, if the Vessels are kept Empty.

Reapers in Pensilvania; —

Drinking cold Water when they are hot.

If it makes them sweat, they are safe,

If not, they fall ill, and some die.

People hot, should drink by Spoonfuls; the Reason.

Taking cold. The Disorder only called so in English, and in no other Language.

American Indians, in the Woods, and the Whites in Imitation of them, lie with their Feet to the Fire in frosty Nights, on the ground and *take no cold* while they can keep their Feet warm.

Feet and Hands apt to be Cold in that Disorder, and why. Is it the Siziness, or the greater Evaporation?

Hottentots grease themselves, — occasions other Evacuations more plentiful. Greasing keeps the body warm. Bad to hold Water too long. Parts colder when first unclothed than afterwards, why?

It was a disgrace among the ancient Persians to cough or spit.

Probably as it argued Intemperance.

Vessels when too full, leak. Quicksilver thro' leather. Thin Fluid leak'd evaporates. Corners of eyes, &c. Sizy will not all evaporate. What is left corrupts. Hence Consumptions. Hectic Fevers, from Absorption of Putrid Pus. It ferments the Blood like Yeast.

People seldom get Cold at Sea, tho' they sleep in Wet Clothes. Constant Exercise, Moderate Living. Bad Cooks. Yet Air is very moist. Wet Floors. Sea surrounding, &c.

Exercise cures a cold. Bishop Williams riding several Miles from London, or Exeter, to Salisbury.

Bark good for a Cold, taken Early.

Particular Parts more accustomed to discharge the irritating persp. Matter, as under the Arms in some, Feet in others, &c.

Exp^{t} of two Rasers.

Every Pain or Disorder now ascrib'd to a Cold.

It is the Covering Excuse of all Intemperance.

Numbers of People in a close Room, and exercising there, fill the air with putrid Particles.

People kill'd by House of Commons, breathing the air thro' Holes in Ceiling.

Think they get Cold by coming *out* of such hot rooms; they get them by being *in*.

Those that live in hotter Rooms (stoves) get no Colds;

Germans and all the northern people.

Alderman and Turtle.

People remark, they were very well before a Cold, and eat hearty. Wonder how they catch'd it.

Signs of Temperance.

Mouth not clammy after Sleep.
Saliva thin and watery.
Eyelids not stuck together with hard Glue.
Voice clear.
No Flegm to raise.

Advice for Mode of general Temperance without appearing too singular.

Supper not bad after preparatory light Dinner.

May be rectify'd by slight Breakfast next Morning.

He must be too full that one Excess will much disorder.

Time of Great Meal mended of late.

One hour variation of compass in 20 years.

After Dinner not fit for Business.

People from the Country get cold when they come to London, and why? Full Living with moist Air. London air generally moist, why? Much putrid air in London. Silver, &c.

Cooks and Doctors should change Maxims.

Common Sense more common among the common Scotch.

Those who do not compare, cannot conceive the Difference between themselves and themselves in full or spare living.

Wet Newspapers, why give Colds.

Old Libraries, and damp old Books.

Putrid Animal Matter in Paper Size.

Courts should not sit after Dinner.

Juries fast, a good inst.

Chess, — Impatience of Deliberation because more difficult. Writing, &c.

Most Follies arise from full Feeding. Reasons *pro* and *con* not all present.

Temperate Nations wisest.

Dining Entertainments bad.

Rem. of Barbarism, — Expensive.

Full Feeding of Children stupefies.

Fasting strengthens Reason rather than subdues Passion.

People often do not get Cold when they think they do, and do when they think they do not.

Causes of Colds are primary and secondary.

Colds are of different kinds, putrid and plethoric.

Scarce any Air abroad so unwholesome as Air in a close room often breath'd.

Warm Air dissolves more Moisture than Cold.

In hot Countries men wrap themselves in wet Sheets to sleep.

A general Service to redeem People from the slavish Fear of getting cold, by showing them where the Danger is not, and that where it is, 'tis in their Power to avoid it.

Surfeit, an Expression formerly us'd, now laid aside.

Costiveness occasioning Colds, how to be prevented.

Colds formerly called Rheums and Catarrhs.

Particular Foods said to engender Rheums.

Query. Is Mr. Wood more or less subject to catch cold since he betook himself to his low diet?

Answer (by Mr. Wood). He now finds himself *much more* healthy, and *much less* liable to catch cold. What few colds he now catches are so very slight, that he is not sensible of them, but from the urine, which is then not so clear.

I caused the above question to be asked Mr. Wood, and obtained the answer. It is the Mr. Wood who lives upon a pound of flour in a pudding.

B. FRANKLIN.

Dampier, speaking of the Customs of the People at Mindanoo, (p. 330,) says; "You see abundance of People in the River from Morning 'till Night washing their Bodies or Clothes; they strip and stand naked till they have done; then put them on and march out again."

Dr. Gregory says; "All that Class of Diseases which arise from catching cold, is found only among the civilized part of Mankind. An old Roman or an Indian, in the Pursuit of War or Hunting, would plunge into a River whilst in a profuse sweat, without fear, and without danger. The greater care we take to prevent catching cold, by the various contrivances of modern Luxury, the more we become subject to it. We can guard against cold only by rendering ourselves superior to its Influence. There is a striking instance of this in the vigorous constitutions of children who go thinly clad in all seasons and weathers."

The Coats of the Vessels are a kind of Network, which contains the Fluids only when not so press'd as to enlarge the Pores of the Net, or when the Fluids are not so press'd as to break the Cohesion of the Globules or Particles, so as to make them small enough to come through. When the Vessels are full, occasioned by a course of full Living, they labour in carrying on the Circulation; their Spring or Power of Contraction and Compressing the Fluids they contain, being overstrain'd, is weakened, the Circulation proceeds more slowly, the Fluids thicken and become more gluey, both

for want of due churning and because less Heat is produc'd in the Body. Such a Body requires more Aid of Clothing and Fire to preserve its warmth.

If a Person in that State of Body walks a Mile or two, or uses any other exercise that warms him, the Fluids are rarefied by the Heat, distend the Vessels still more, and the thinner Parts of the Fluids in tender Places force out thro' the Pores of the Vessels in form of a gluey Water, viz. at the Eyes, within the Nose, and within the Lungs. This in moderate Exercise.

If the Exercise is increas'd it comes through every Pore in the Skin, and is called Sweat.

The more volatile Parts of this extravasated Fluid evaporate, and fly off in the Air; the gluey Part remains, thickens and hardens more or less, as it becomes more or less dry; in the Nose and on the Lungs, where Air is continually coming and going, it soon becomes a Mucus, but can hardly grow dryer because surrounded with moist Parts and supply'd with more Moisture. What oozes out of the Corner of the Eye when shut, as in Sleep, hardens into what is called a kind of Gum, being in fact dry Glue.

This in a Morning almost sticks the Eyelids together.

With such Mucous Matter the Nose is sometimes almost stopped, and must be cleared by strong Blowing.

In the Windpipe and on the Lungs it gathers and is impacted, so as sometimes to induce a continual Coughing and Hawking to discharge it.

If not easily discharg'd, but remaining long adhering to the Lungs, it corrupts and inflames the Parts it is in contact with; even behind the Ears and between the Parts of the Body so constantly in contact, that the perspirable Matter,

Sweat, &c. cannot easily escape from between them; the Skin is inflamed by it, and a partial Putrefaction begins to take place, they corrupt and ulcerate. The Vessels being thus wounded, discharge greater and continual Quantities. Hence Consumption.

Part of the corrupted Matter, absorb'd again by the Vessels and mix'd with the Blood, occasions Hectic Fevers.

When the Body has sweated, not from a dissolution of Fluids, but from the Force above mention'd, as the Sweat dries off, some clammy Substance remains in the Pores, which closes many of them, wholly or in part. The subsequent Perspiration is hereby lessened.

The Perspirable Matter consists of Parts approaching to Putrefaction, and therefore destin'd by Nature to be thrown off, that living Bodies might not putrefy, which otherwise, from their Warmth and Moisture, they would be apt to do.

These corrupting Particles, if continually thrown off, the remainder of the Body continues uncorrupt, or approaches no nearer to a state of Putrefaction. Just as in Boiling Water, no greater degree of Heat than the Boiling Heat can be acquir'd, because the Particles that grow hotter, as fast as they become so, fly off in Vapour. But if the Vapour could be retain'd, Water might be made much hotter, perhaps red-hot, as Oil may, which is not so subject to Evaporation. So if the Perspirable Matter is retain'd it remixes with the blood, and produces first, a slight putrid Fever, attending always what we call a Cold, and when retain'd in a great Degree, more mischievous putrid Diseases.

In hot Countries, Exercise of Body with the Heat of the Climate create much of this putrid perspirable Matter,

which ought to be discharg'd. A check in those Countries very pernicious; Putrid Malignant Violent Fevers, and speedy Death, the Consequence.

Its Discharge is also check'd another Way besides that of closing the Pores, viz. by being in an Air already full of it, as in close Rooms containing great Numbers of People, Playhouses, Ballrooms, &c.

For Air containing a Quantity of any kind of Vapour, becomes thereby less capable of imbibing more of that Vapour, and finally will take no more of it.

If the Air will not take it off from the Body, it must remain in the Body; and the Perspiration is as effectually stopt and the perspirable Matter as certainly retain'd, as if the Pores were all stopt.

A Lock of wet Wool contained in a Nutmeg-Grater, may dry, parting with its Moisture thro' the Holes of the Grater. But if you stop all those Holes with wax it will never dry. Nor, if expos'd to the open Air, will it dry when the Air is as moist as itself. On the contrary, if already dry, and expos'd to moist Air, it would acquire Moisture.

Thus People in Rooms heated by a Multitude of People, find their own Bodies heated; thence the quantity of perspirable Matter is increased that should be discharged, but the Air, not being changed, grows so full of the same Matter, that it will receive no more. So the Body must retain it. The Consequence is, that next Day, perhaps sooner, a slight putrid Fever comes on, with all the Marks of what we call a Cold, and the Disorder is suppos'd to be got by coming out of a warm Room, whereas it was really taken while in that Room.

Putrid Ferments beget their like. — Small-Pox. — Wet

rotten Paper, containing corrupt Glue. The cold Fever communicable by the Breath to others, &c.

Urine retain'd, occasions Sneezing, &c.

Coughing and Spitting continually, marks of Intemperance.

People eat much more than is necessary.

Proportionable Nourishment and Strength is not drawn from great Eating.

The succeeding Meals force the preceding thro' half-undigested.

Small Meals continue longer in the Body, and are more thoroughly digested.

The Vessels being roomy can bear and receive without hurt, an accidental Excess.

They can concrete more easily.

There is less quantity of corrupting Particles produc'd.

Putrid Fish very bad.

Black Hole in the Indies.

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677. TO MATTHEW MATY[1] (A. P. S.)

Cravenstreet, July 1. 1773 —

SIR,

Our ingenious and worthy Brother Mr. Walsh, having long had an Intention of drawing up from his Minutes a full Account of the numerous Experiments he made on the Torpedo, which Intention his other Avocations have not permitted him to execute, it is but lately that I have obtained

[1] Dr. Maty (1718–1776) was elected F.R.S. December 19, 1751, and was appointed Secretary November 30, 1765. He became principal librarian of the British Museum in 1772 on the death of Dr. Gowin Knight. — ED.

his Permission to lay before the Society what he had in the mean time been pleased to communicate to me on that very curious and interesting Subject, or I should sooner have put it into your Hands for that purpose: I wish you may now have time to read them before the Recess.

With great Esteem, I am,
Your most obedient
humble Servant
B. FRANKLIN.

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678. TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN (P. H. S.)

West Wickham, the Seat
of Lord Le Despencer, Bucks
July 6. 1773.—

MY DEAR CHILD,

I am here in my Way to Oxford, where I am going to be present at the Installation, & shall stay a few Days among my Friends there. By Capt. All who sails next Week I shall write fully to you, & to Friends in Philadelphia. This is my only Letter per Packet. Love to our Children, & to Benny Boy. I am, Thanks to God, very well and hearty, and ever

Your affectionate Husband.
[B. FRANKLIN.]

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679. TO THOMAS CUSHING (D. S. W.)

London, July 7. 1773

SIR,

The Parliament is at length prorogu'd, without meddling with the State of America. Their Time was much employ'd

in the East India Business; and perhaps it was not thought prudent to lay before them the Advices from New England, tho' some threatning Intimations had been given of such an Intention. The King's firm Answer, (as it is called) to our Petitions and Remonstrances, has probably been judg'd sufficient for the present. I forwarded that Answer to you by the last Packet, and sent a Copy of it by a Boston Ship the beginning of last Month. Therein we are told, "that his Majesty has well weighed the *Subject-matter*, and the Expressions, contain'd in those Petitions; and that as he will ever attend to the *humble* Petitions of his Subjects, and be forward to redress every *real* Grievance, so he is determined to support *the Constitution*, and resist with Firmness every Attempt to derogate from the Authority of the *Supreme Legislature*."

By this it seems that some Exception is taken to the *Expressions* of the Petitions, as not sufficiently humble, that the Grievances complain'd of are not thought *real* Grievances, that Parliament is deem'd the Supreme Legislature, and its Authority over the Colonies suppos'd to be the *Constitution*. Indeed this last Idea is express'd more fully in the next Paragraph, where the Words of the Act are us'd, declaring the Right of the Crown, with the Advice of Parliament, to make Laws of *sufficient Force and Validity* to bind its Subjects in America *in all Cases whatsoever*.

When one considers the King's Situation, surrounded by Ministers, Councellors, and Judges, learned in the Law, who are all of this Opinion, and reflect how necessary it is for him to be well with his Parliament, from whose yearly Grants his Fleets and Armies are to be supported, and the Deficiencies of his Civil List supplied, it is not to be wondered

at, that he should be firm in an Opinion establish'd, as far as an Act of Parliament could establish it, by even the Friends of America at the Time they repeal'd the Stamp Act; and which is so generally thought right by his Lords and Commons, that any Act of his, countenancing the contrary, would hazard his embroiling himself with those Powerful Bodies. And from hence it seems hardly to be expected from him, that he should take any Step of that kind. The grievous Instructions, indeed, might be withdrawn without their observing it, if his Majesty thought fit so to do; but under the present Prejudices of all about him, it seems that this is not yet likely to be advised.

The Question then arises, How are we to obtain Redress? If we look back into the Parliamentary History of this Country, we shall find that, in similar Situations of the Subjects here, Redress would seldom be obtained but by withholding Aids when the Sovereign was in Distress, till the Grievances were removed. Hence the rooted Custom of the Commons to keep Money Bills in their own Disposition, not suffering even the Lords to meddle in Grants, either as to Quantity, Manner of raising, or even in the smallest Circumstance. This Country pretends to be collectively our Sovereign. It is now deeply in debt. Its Funds are far short of recovering their Par since the last War: Another would distress it still more. Its People diminish, as well as its Credit. Men will be wanted, as well as Money. The Colonies are rapidly increasing in Wealth and Numbers. In the last War they maintained an Army of 25,000. A Country able to do that is no contemptible Ally. In another War they may perhaps do twice as much with equal Ease. Whenever a War happens, our Aid will be wish'd for, our Friendship desired and

cultivated, our Good will courted: Then is the Time to say, "*Redress our Grievances.* You take Money from us by Force, and now you ask it of voluntary Grant. You cannot have it both Ways. If you chuse to have it without our Consent, you must go on taking it that way, and be content with what little you can so obtain. If you would have our free Gifts, desist from your compulsive Methods, and acknowledge our Rights, and secure our future Enjoyment of them." Our Claims will then be attended to, and our Complaints regarded.

By what I perceiv'd not long since when a War was apprehended with Spain, the different Countenance put on by some Great Men here towards those who were thought to have a little Influence in America, and the Language that began to be held with regard to the then Minister for the Colonies, I am confident that, if that War had taken place, he would have been immediately dismiss'd, all his Measures revers'd, and every step taken to recover our Affection and procure our Assistance. Thence I think it fair to conclude, that similar Effects will probably be produc'd by similar Circumstances.

But as the Strength of an Empire depends not only on the *Union* of its Parts, but on their *Readiness* for united Exertion of their common Force: And as the Discussion of Rights may seem unseasonable in the Commencement of actual War; and the Delay it might occasion be prejudicial to the common Welfare. As likewise the Refusal of one or a few Colonies would not be so much regarded, if the others granted liberally, which perhaps by various Artifices and Motives they might be prevailed on to do; and as this want of Concert would defeat the Expectation of general Redress, that other-

wise might be justly formed; perhaps it would be best and fairest for the Colonies, in a general Congress now in Peace to be assembled, or by means of the Correspondence lately proposed, after a full and solemn Assertion and Declaration of their Rights, to engage firmly with each other, that they will never grant Aids to the Crown in any General War, till those Rights are recogniz'd by the King and both Houses of Parliament; communicating at the same time to the Crown this their Resolution. Such a Step I imagine will bring the Dispute to a Crisis; and whether our Demands are immediately comply'd with, or compulsory Measures thought of to make us rescind them, our Ends will finally be obtain'd; for even the Odium accompanying such compulsory Attempts will contribute to unite and strengthen us, and in the mean time all the World will allow, that our Proceeding has been honourable.

No one doubts the Advantage of a strict Union between the Mother Country and the Colonies, if it may be obtain'd and preserv'd on equitable Terms. In every fair Connection, each Party should find its own Interest. Britain will find hers in our joining with her in every War she makes, to the greater Annoyance and Terror of her Enemies; in our Employment of her Manufactures, and Enriching of her Merchants by our Commerce; and her Government will feel some additional Strengthening of its Hands by the Disposition of our profitable Posts and Places. On our side, we have to expect the Protection she can afford us, and the Advantage of a common Umpire in our Disputes, thereby preventing Wars we might otherwise have with each other; so that we can without Interruption go on with our Improvements, and increase our Numbers. We ask no more

of her, and she should not think of forcing more from us.

By the Exercise of prudent Moderation on her part, mix'd with a little Kindness; and by a decent Behaviour on ours, excusing where we can excuse from a Consideration of Circumstances, and bearing a little with the Infirmities of her Government, as we would with those of an aged Parent, tho' firmly asserting our Privileges, and declaring that we mean at a proper time to vindicate them, this advantageous Union may still be long continued. We wish it, and we may endeavour it; but God will order it as to his Wisdom shall seem most suitable. The Friends of Liberty here, wish we may long preserve it on our side the Water, that they may find it there if adverse Events should destroy it here. They are therefore anxious and afraid, lest we should hazard it by premature Attempts in its favour. They think we may risque much by violent Measures, and that the Risque is unnecessary, since a little Time must infallibly bring us all we demand or desire, and bring it us in Peace and Safety. I do not presume to advise. There are many wiser men among you, and I hope you will be directed by a still superior Wisdom.

With regard to the Sentiments of People in general here, concerning America, I must say that we have among them many Friends and Wellwishers. The Dissenters are all for us, and many of the Merchants and Manufacturers. There seems to be, even among the Country Gentlemen, a general Sense of our growing Importance, a Disapprobation of the harsh Measures with which we have been treated, and a Wish that some Means may be found of perfect Reconciliation. A few Members of Parliament in both Houses, and

perhaps some in high Office, have in a Degree the same Ideas; but none of these seem willing as yet to be active in our favour, lest Adversaries should take Advantage, and charge it upon them as a Betraying the Interests of this Nation. In this State of things, no Endeavour of mine, or our other Friends here, "to obtain a Repeal of the Acts so oppressive to the Colonists, or the Orders of the Crown so destructive of the Charter Rights of our Province in particular," can expect a sudden Success. By Degrees, and a judicious Improvement of Events, we may work a Change in Minds and Measures; but otherwise such great Alterations are hardly to be look'd for.

I am thankful to the House for the Mark of their kind Attention, in repeating their Grant to me of Six Hundred Pounds. Whether the Instruction restraining the Governor's Assent is withdrawn or not, or is likely to be, I cannot tell, having never solicited or even once mentioned it to Lord Dartmouth, being resolved to owe no Obligation on that Account to the Favour of any Minister. If from a Sense of Right, that Instruction should be recall'd, and the general Principle on which it was founded is given up, all will be very well: but you can never think it worth while to employ an Agent here, if his being paid or not is to depend on the Breath of a Minister, and I should think it a Situation too suspicious, and therefore too dishonourable for me to remain in a single Hour. Living frugally, I am under no immediate Necessity; and, if I serve my Constituents faithfully, tho' it should be unsuccessfully, I am confident they will always have it in their Inclination, and some time or other in their Power, to make their Grants effectual.

A Gentleman of our Province, Captain Calef, is come

hither as an Agent for some of the Eastern Townships, to obtain a Confirmation of their Lands. Sir Francis Bernard seems inclin'd to make Use of this Person's Application for promoting a Separation of that Country from your Province, and making it a distinct Government; to which purpose he prepared a Draft of a Memorial for Calef to present, setting forth not only the hardship of being without Security in the Property of their Improvements, but also the Distress of the People there for want of Government; that they were at too great a Distance from the Seat of Gov^{t} in the Massachusetts to be capable of receiving the Benefits of Government from thence, and expressing their Willingness to be separated and form'd into a new Province, &c.

With this Draft Sir Francis and Mr. Calef came to me to have my Opinion. I read it, and observ'd to them, that tho' I wish'd the People quieted in their Possessions, and would do any thing I could to assist in obtaining the Assurance of their Property, yet, as I knew the Province of the Massachusetts had a Right to that Country, of wch they were justly tenacious, I must oppose that part of the Memorial, if it should be presented. Sir Francis allow'd the Right, but propos'd that a great Tract of Land between Merrimack and Connecticut Rivers, which had been allotted to Newhampshire, might be restor'd to our Province, by order of the Crown, as a Compensation. This, he said, would be of more Value to us than that Eastern Country, as being nearer home, &c. I said I would mention it in my Letters, but must in the mean time oppose any Step taken in the Affair, before the Sentiments of the General Court should be known as to such an Exchange, if it were offer'd. Mr. Calef himself did not seem fond of the Draft, and I have not

seen him or heard any thing farther of it since; but I shall watch it.

Be pleased to present my dutiful Respects to the House, and believe me with sincere and great Esteem, Sir, your most obedient and most humble Servt.

B. FRANKLIN.

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680. TO THOMAS CUSHING (D. S. W.)

PRIVATE

London, July 7, 1773.

SIR

The Letters communicated to you were not merely to satisfy the Curiosity of any, but it was thought there might be a Use in showing them to some Friends of the Province, and even to some of the Governor's Party, for their more certain Information concerning his Conduct and Politicks, tho' the Letters were not made quite publick. I believe I have since wrote to you, that there was no Occasion to return them speedily; and, tho' I cannot obtain Leave as yet to suffer Copies to be taken of them, I am allowed to say, that they may be shewn and read to whom and as many as you think proper. Had not a Person died in whose Hands they were probably we should not soon have seen them. Politicians on our Side the water should take Care what they write to Ministers if they wish the World may never know it. One of them not long since gave a great Quantity of American Letters to his Footman who sold them for waste Paper. By chance an Acquaintance of mine saw them, bought for a Trifle, & sent them to me & they have Afforded me Abun-

dance of Argument. Mr. Grenville who was the Center to which flow'd all the Correspondance inimical to America, to whomsoever directed, had these Letters put into his Hands, lent them to another, & dying before they were returned gave an Opportunity for their falling into ours.

I thank you for the Pamphlets you have sent me, containing the Controversy between the Governor and the two Houses. I have distributed them where I thought they might be of Use. He makes perhaps as much of his Argument as it will bear; but has the Misfortune of being on the weak Side, and so is put to Shifts and Quibbles, and the Use of much Sophistry and Artifice, to give Plausibility to his Reasonings. The Council and Assembly have greatly the Advantage in point of Fairness, Perspicuity, and Force. His Precedents of Acts of Parliament binding the Colonies, and our Tacit Consent to those Acts, are all frivolous. Shall a guardian who has impos'd upon, cheated, and plundered a Minor under his Care who was unable to prevent it, plead those Impositions after his Ward has discovered them, as Precedents and Authorities for continuing them? There have been Precedents time out of mind for Robbing on Hounslow Heath, but the Highwayman, who robb'd there yesterday, does nevertheless deserve a Hanging.

I am glad to see the Resolves of the Virginia House of Burgesses.[1] There are brave Spirits among that People. I hope

[1] The resolves appointing a Committee of Correspondence, and requesting the legislatures of the other colonies to do the same, for the purpose of promoting a mutual intercourse. These resolves were passed on the 12th of March, 1773; and, as the plan was generally adopted by the other colonies, it became a very important instrument in effecting a union, and carrying forward concerted measures in the early stages of the Revolution. See the Resolves in WIRT's *Life of Patrick Henry*, 3d ed. p. 87. — S.

their Proposal will be readily comply'd with by all the Colonies. It is natural to suppose as you do, that, if the Oppressions continue, a Congress may grow out of that Correspondence. Nothing would more alarm our Ministers; but if the Colonies agree to hold a Congress, I do not see how it can be prevented.

The Instruction relating to the Exemption of the Commissioners I imagine is withdrawn: perhaps the other also relating to the Agents, but of that I have heard nothing. I only wonder that the Govr should make such a Declaration of his Readiness to comply with an Intimation in acting contrary to any Instructions, if he had not already, or did not soon expect a Repeal of those Instructions. I have not and shall never use your Name on this or any similar Occasion.

I note your Directions relating to publick and private Letters, and shall not fail to observe them. At the same time I cannot but think all the Correspondence should be in the Speaker's Power, to communicate such Extracts only as he should think proper to the House. It is extreamly embarrasing to an Agent to write Letters concerning his Transactions with Ministers, which Letters he knows are to be read in the House, where there may be Governor's Spies, who carry away Parts, or perhaps take Copies, that are echo'd back hither privately; if they should not be as sometimes they are printed in the Votes. It is impossible to write freely in such Circumstances, unless he would hazard his Usefulness, and put it out of his Power to do his Country any farther Service. I speak this now, not upon my own Acc^{t}, being about to decline all publick Business, but for your Consideration with regard to future Agents.

And, now we speak of Agents, I must mention my Con-

cern, that I should fall under so severe a Censure of the House, as that of Neglect in their Business. I have submitted to the Reproof without Reply in my publick Letter, out of pure Respect. It is not decent to dispute a Father's Admonitions. But to you in private permit me to observe, that, as to the two things I am blam'd for not giving the earliest Notice of, viz. the Clause in the Act relating to DockYards, and the Appointment of Salaries for the Govr and Judges; the first only seems to have some Foundation. I did not know, but perhaps I ought to have known, that such a Clause was intended. And yet in a Parliament, that during the whole Session refused Admission to Strangers, wherein near 200 Acts were passed, it is not so easy a Matter to come at the Knowledge of the purport of every Clause in every Act, and to give Opposition to what may affect one's Constituents, especially when it is not uncommon to smuggle Clauses into a Bill, whose Title shall give no Suspicion, when an Opposition to such Clauses is apprehended. I say this is no easy matter. But had I known of this Clause, it is not likely I could have prevented its passing in the then Disposition of Government towards America; nor do I see, that my giving earlier Notice of its having passed could have been of much Service.

As to the other, concerning the Govr and Judges, I should hardly have thought of sending the House an Account of it, if the Minister had mentioned it to me, as I understood from their first Letter to me, that they had already the best intelligence of its being determined by Administration to bestow large Salaries on the Attorney-General, Judges, and Governor of the Province. I could not therefore possibly "give the *first Notice* of this Impending Evil." I answered however "that there was no doubt of the Intention of making

Governors, and some other Officers, independent of the People for their Support; and that this Purpose will be persisted in, if the American Revenue is found sufficient to defray the Salaries." This Censure, tho' grievous, does not so much surprize me, as I apprehended from the Beginning, that between the Friends of an old Agent, my Predecessor, who thought himself hardly us'd in his Dismission, and those of a young one impatient for the Succession, my situation was not likely to be a very comfortable one, as my Faults could scarce pass unobserved.[1]

I think of leaving England in September. As soon as possible after my Arrival in America, I purpose, God willing, to visit Boston, when I hope to have the Pleasure of paying my Respects to you. I shall then give every Information in my Power, and offer every Advice relating to our Affairs, not so convenient to be written, that my Situation here for so many Years may enable me to suggest for the Benefit of our Country. Some time before my Departure, I shall put your Papers into the Hands of Mr. Lee, and assist him with my Counsel while I stay, where there may be any Occasion for it. He is a Gentleman of Parts and Ability; and tho' he cannot exceed me in sincere Zeal for the Interest and Prosperity of the Province, his Youth will easily enable him to serve it with more Activity. I am, Sir, very respectfully, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

[1] The young agent here mentioned, as "impatient for the succession," was Arthur Lee. He was called in English circles *Junius Americanus*, to distinguish him from his elder brother, Richard Henry Lee. Arthur was admitted to the bar in England, and commenced the practice of the law in London. — B.

681. TO SAMUEL MATHER[1] (D. S. W.) (L. C.)

London, July 7: 1773.

Revd Sir,

By a Line of the 4th past, I acknowledged the Receipt of your Favour of March 18, and sent you with it two Pamphlets. I now add another, a spirited Address to the Bishops, who opposed the Dissenters' Petition. It is written by a Dissenting Minister at York. There is preserv'd at the End of it a little fugitive Piece of mine on the same Occasion.

I perused your Tracts with Pleasure. I see you inherit all the various Learning of your famous Ancestors, Cotton and Increase Mather. The Father, Increase, I once when a boy heard preach at the Old South for Mr. Pemberton; and remember his mentioning the Death of "that wicked old Persecutor of God's People, Lewis XIV;" of which News had just been received; but which proved premature. I was some Years afterwards at his House at the North End, on some Errand to him, and remember him sitting in an easy Chair, apparently very old and feeble. But Cotton I remember in the Vigour of his Preaching and Usefulness.

You have made the most of your Argument, to prove that America might be known to the Ancients. . . . There is another Discovery of it claimed by the Norwegians, which you have not mentioned, unless it be under the Words, "of old viewed and observed," page 7. About 25 Years since, Professor Kalm, a learned Swede, was with us in Pensilvania. He contended, that America was discovered by their Northern

[1] Samuel Mather (1706–1785), a clergyman of Boston, and son of Cotton Mather. There is a copy of this letter in L. C. — Ed.

People, long before the Time of Columbus; which I doubting, he drew up and gave me some time after a Note of those Discoveries, which I send you inclos'd. It is his own Handwriting, and his own English; very intelligible for the time he had been among us. The Circumstances give the Account a great Appearance of Authenticity. And if one may judge by the Description of the Winter, the Country they visited should be southward of New England, supposing no Change since that time of the Climate. But, if it be true, as Krantz, I think, and other Historians tell us, that old Greenland, once inhabited and populous, is now render'd uninhabitable by Ice, it should seem that almost perpetual northern Winter has gained ground to the Southward; and if so perhaps more northern Countries might anciently have had Vines, than can bear them in these Days.[1]

The Remarks you have added, on the late Proceedings against America, are very just and judicious; and I cannot see any Impropriety in your making them, tho' a Minister of the Gospel. This Kingdom is a good deal indebted for its Liberties to the Publick Spirit of its ancient Clergy, who join'd with the Barons in obtaining Magna Charta, and join'd heartily in forming the Curses of Excommunication against the Infringers of it. There is no doubt but the Claim of Parliament, of Authority to make Laws *binding on the Colonies in all cases whatsoever*, includes an Authority to change our Religious Constitution, and establish Popery or Mahometanism, if they please, in its Stead: but, as you intimate, *Power* does not infer *Right;* and, as the *Right* is nothing, and the *Power*, (by our Increase,) continually diminishing, the one will soon be as insignificant as the *other*. You

[1] Here L. C. copy ends. — ED.

seem only to have made a small Mistake, in supposing they modestly avoided to declare they had a Right, the Words of the Act being, "that they have and of *right* ought to have, full Power, &c."

Your Suspicion that "sundry others, besides Govr Bern^d^, had written hither their Opinions and Counsels, encouraging the late Measures to the Prejudice of our Country, which have been too much heeded and followed," is, I apprehend, but too well founded. You call them "traiterous Individuals," whence I collect, that you suppose them of our own Country. There was among the twelve Apostles one Traitor, who betrayed with a Kiss. It should be no Wonder, therefore, if among so many Thousand true Patriots, as New England contains, there should be found even twelve Judases ready to betray their Country for a few paltry Pieces of Silver. Their *Ends*, as well as their Views, ought to be similar. But all these Oppressions evidently work for our Good. Providence seems by every Means intent on making us a great People. May our Virtues publick and private grow with us, and be durable, that Liberty, Civil and Religious, may be secur'd to our Posterity, and to all from every Part of the Old World that take Refuge among us.

. . . With great Esteem, and my best Wishes for a long Continuance of your Usefulness, I am, Revd Sir, your most obedient humble Servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

682. TO SAMUEL COOPER[1] (B. M.)

London, July 7. 1773

DEAR SIR,

I received your very valuable favours of March 15th and April 23d. It rejoices me to find your Health so far restored, that your Friends can again be benefitted by your Correspondence.

The Governor was certainly out in his Politics, if he hoped to recommend himself there, by entering upon that Dispute with the Assembly. His Imprudence in bringing it at all upon the *tapis*, and his bad Management of it, are almost equally censured. The Council and Assembly on the other hand have, by the Coolness, Clearness, and Force of their Answers, gained great Reputation.

The Unanimity of our Towns, in their Sentiments of Liberty, gives me great Pleasure, as it shows the generally enlightened State of our People's Minds, and demonstrates the Falshood of the Opinion, much cultivated here by the Partisans of arbitrary Power in America, that only a small Faction among us were discontented with the late Measures. If that Unanimity can be discovered in all the Colonies, it will give much greater Weight to our future Remonstrances. I heartily wish with you that some Line could be drawn, some Bill of Rights established for America, that might secure Peace between the two Countries, so necessary for the Prosperity of both. But I think little Attention is like to be

[1] This letter has hitherto been published as two different letters bearing the same date. It is here reprinted from the Ms. [written by a secretary and signed by F.] in B. M. (K. 203). — ED.

afforded by our Ministers to that salutary Work, till the Breach becomes greater and more alarming, and then the Difficulty of repairing it will be greater in a tenfold Proportion.

I congratulate you on the finishing of your new Meeting house. I have considered, as well as I can, without being on the Spot, the Intention of warming it by some Machine in the cold, damp Seasons. It must be a Matter of Difficulty to warm sensibly all the Air in so large and so lofty a Room, especially if the Fire is not kept up constantly on the common Week Days as well as Sundays. For tho' the Machine is very large and made very hot, yet the Space of Air and quantity of Wall to be warmed is so great, that it must be long before any considerable Effect will be produc'd. Then the Air warm'd below by the Machine being rarify'd & lighter will not spread among the People below as it would under a low Cieling, but will naturally rise to the Top of the Room, and can only descend again as it becomes colder and must give Place to the succeeding warm rising Air. It will then descend by the Walls and Windows, which being very cold by the preceding Week's Absence of Fire, will cool that descending Air so much in so long a Descent, that it will fall very heavily and uncomfortably upon the Heads of all that happen to sit under it, and will proceed in cold Currents along the Floor to the warming Machine wherever it is situated. This must continue till the Walls are warmed, for which I think one Day is by no means sufficient, and that therefore a Fire kindled in the Morning of the Sabbath will afford no Comfort to the Congregation that day, except to a few that sit near it, and some inconvenience to the rest from the Currents above mentioned.

If, however, your People, as they are rich, can afford it,

and may be willing to indulge themselves, should chuse to keep up a constant Fire in the Winter Months, you may have from hence a Machine for the purpose, cast from the same Patterns with those now used at the Bank, or that in Lincoln's Inn Hall, which are plac'd in the middle of the respective Rooms. The Smoke of these descends, and passing under ground, rises in some Chimney at a Distance. Yours must be a Chimney built, I suppose, without the House; and as it ought to draw well to prevent your being troubled with Smoke (as they often are at the Bank), it should be on the South Side; but this I fear would disfigure your Front. That at Lincoln's Inn Hall draws better. They are in the Form of Temples, cast in Iron, with Columns, Cornishes, and every Member of elegant Architecture.

And I mention casting them from the same Patterns or Moulds, because those being already made, a great deal of Work and Expence will thereby be saved. But if you can cast them in New England, a large Vase, or an antique Altar, which are more simple Forms, may answer the Purpose as well, and be more easily executed. Yet after all, when I consider the little Effect I have observed from these Machines in those great Rooms, the Complaints of People who have tried Buzaglo's Stoves in Halls, and how far your Meeting-house must exceed them in all its Dimentions, I apprehend that after a great deal of Expence, and a good deal of Dust on the Seats and in the Pews, which they constantly occasion, you will not find your Expectations answered. And persuaded as I am, from philosophic Considerations, that no one ever catches the Disorder we call a Cold from cold Air, and therefore never at Meeting, I should think it rather advisable for those who cannot well bear it, to guard against the short

Inconvenience of cold Feet (wch only takes place toward the End of the Service), by Basses or Bearskin Cases to put the Legs in, or by small Stoves with a few Coals under foot, *more majorum.*[1]

You mention the Surprise of Gentlemen, to whom those Letters have been communicated,[2] at the Restrictions with which they were accompanied, and which they suppose render them incapable of answering any important end. The great Reason of forbidding their Publication was an Apprehension, that it might put all the Possessors of such Correspondence here upon their Guard, and so prevent the obtaining more of it. And it was imagined, that showing the Originals to so many as were named, and to a few others as they might think fit, would be sufficient to establish the Authenticity, and to spread thro' the Province so just an Estimation of the Writers, as to strip them of all their deluded Friends, and demolish effectually their Interest and Influence. The Letters might be shown even to some of the Governor's and Lieutenant-Governor's Partisans, and spoken of to

[1] Samuel Cooper replied (November 10, 1773),

"DEAR SIR,

I received your valuable favours of the 7th and 25th of July, and you will please to accept the thanks of the committee of our congregation, as well as my own, for the trouble you have very kindly given yourself in your clear and particular account of the warming machines for large rooms, and your advice respecting our new building, together with the truly philosophical and convincing reasons upon which it is founded. All, to whom I have read that part of your letter, have been highly entertained with it; and I must particularly thank you for your observation, that we do not receive the disorder called a *cold* from cold air, and therefore *never at meeting*, being proud of supporting myself with your authority against some of our physicians, who seem to think that all the disorders of their patients are caught there. Your letter has satisfied my whole congregation, and we are now all determined to worship and make ourselves as comfortable as may be *more majorum*."— ED.

[2] Governor Hutchinson's Letters. — ED.

Everybody; for there was no Restraint proposed to talking of them, but only to copying. However, the Terms given with them could only be those with which they were received.

The great Defect here is, in all sorts of People, a want of attention to what passes in such remote Countries as America; an Unwillingness even to read any thing about them if it appears a little lengthy, and a Disposition to postpone the Consideration even of the Things they know they must at last consider, that so they may have Time for what more immediately concerns them, and withal enjoy their Amusements, and be undisturbed in the universal Dissipation. In other Respects, though some of the great regard us with a jealous Eye, and some are angry with us, the Majority of the Nation rather wish us well, and have no Desire to infringe our Liberties. And many console themselves under the Apprehensions of declining Liberty here, that they or their Posterity shall be able to find her safe and vigorous in America. With sincere and great esteem, I am, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

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683. TO MRS. JANE MECOM (D. S. W.)

London, July 7. 1773

DEAR SISTER, I believe it is long since I have written any Letters to you. I hope you will excuse it. I am oppress'd with too much Writing, and am apt to postpone when I presume upon some Indulgence.

I received duly yours of Jan. 19, April 20, May 5 and May 15.

Our Relations Jenkins and Paddock, came to see me. They seem to be clever, sensible Men.

Is there not a little Affectation in your Apology for the Incorrectness of your Writing? Perhaps it is rather fishing for Commendation. You write better, in my Opinion, than most American Women. Here indeed the Ladies write generally with more Elegance than the Gentlemen.

By Capt. Hatch went a Trunk containing the Goods you wrote for. I hope they will come safe to hand and please. Mrs. Stevenson undertook the Purchasing them with great Readiness and Pleasure. Teasdale, whom you mention as selling cheap, is broke and gone. Perhaps he sold too cheap. But she did her best.

I congratulate you on the Marriage of your Daughter. My Love to them. I am oblig'd to good Dr. Cooper for his Prayers.

Your Shortness of Breath might perhaps be reliev'd by eating Honey with your Bread instead of Butter, at Breakfast.

Young Hubbard seems a sensible Boy, and fit, I should think, for a better Business than the Sea. I am concern'd to hear of the Illness of his good Mother.

If Brother John had paid that Bond, there was no Occasion to recal it for you to pay it; for I suppose he might have had Effects of our Father's to pay it with. I never heard how it was managed.

Mrs. Stevenson presents her Respects, and I am ever,

Your affectionate Brother,

B. FRANKLIN.

684. TO SAMUEL FRANKLIN (D. S. W.)

London, July 7, 1773.

LOVING COUSIN,

I received your kind Letter of Nov. 6, and was glad to hear of the Welfare of yourself and Family, which I hope continues. Sally Franklin is lately married to Mr. James Pearce, a substantial young Farmer at Ewell, about 12 miles from London, a very sober, industrious Man, and I think it likely to prove a good Match, [as she is likewise an industrious, good girl.][1]

I would not have you be discouraged at the little Dullness of Business, which is only occasional. A close Attention to your Shop, and Application to Business, will always secure more than an equal Share, because every Competitor will not have those Qualities. Some of them, therefore, must give Way to you, and the constant Growth of the Country will increase the Trade of all, that steadily stand ready for it. I send you a little Piece of mine, which more particularly explains this Sentiment and am ever

Your affectionate Kinsman,

B. FRANKLIN.

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685. TO JONATHAN WILLIAMS (D. S. W.)

London, July 7, 1773

DEAR COUSIN: — In looking over your letters I find in that of November 12th mention of a prize of £20 which you

[1] Passage in brackets is not found in the d. in D. S. W. — ED.

have drawn. It never came into my hands, and I cannot find that Smith, Wright, & Gray know anything of it. If I knew the No. of the ticket I could inquire farther.

I am much obliged by your care in Hall's affair, and glad you have recovered so much of that debt and are likely to get the rest. I hope it will be of service to my dear sister. The goods for her were sent per Capt. Hatch, in a trunk consigned to you.

I wish you success in your new plan of business, and shall certainly embrace every opportunity I may have of promoting it.

Upon your recommendation I went to see the black poetess [1] and offered her any services I could do her. Before I left the house I understood her master was there, and had sent her to me, but did not come into the room himself, and I thought was not pleased with the visit. I should perhaps have inquired first for him, but I had heard nothing of him; and I have heard nothing since of her.

My love to Cousin Grace and your children

I am, yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

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686. TO WILLIAM FRANKLIN (D. S. W.)

London, July 14, 1773.

DEAR SON,

I am glad to find by yours of May 4 that you have been able to assist Josiah Davenport a little, but vex'd that he and you should think of putting me upon a Solicitation, which it is impossible for me to engage in. I am not upon Terms with Lord North, to ask any such Favour from him. Dis-

[1] Phillis Wheatley. — ED.

pleased with something he said relating to America, I have never been at his Levees, since the first. Perhaps he has taken that amiss. For the last Week we met occasionally at Lord Le Despencer's, in our Return from Oxford, where I had been to attend the Solemnity of his Installation, and he seemed studiously to avoid speaking to me. I ought to be asham'd to say that on such occasions I feel myself to be as proud as anybody. His Lady indeed was more gracious. She came, and sat down by me on the same Sopha, and condescended to enter into a Conversation with me agreably enough, as if to make some Amends. Their Son and Daughter were with them. They staied all Night, so that we din'd, supp'd, and breakfasted together, without exchanging three Sentences. But had he ever so great a Regard for me, I could not ask that Office, trifling as it is, for any Relation of mine. And detesting as I do the whole System of American Customs, believing they will one Day bring on a Breach, through the Indiscretion and Insolence of those concern'd in the Collection, I should never wish to see one so near to me in that Business. If you think him capable of acting as Deputy Secretary, I imagine you might easily obtain that for him of Mr. Morgann.

He has lately been with me, is always very complaisant, and, understanding I was about returning to America, requested my Interest to obtain for him the *Agency of your Province.* His Friend, Sir Watkin Lewes, who was formerly Candidate for the same *great Place,* is now High Sheriff of London, and in the Way of being Lord Mayor. The new Sheriffs elect are (could you think it?) both Americans, viz. Mr. Sayre, the New Yorker, and Mr. W.[1] brother to Dr.

[1] William Lee. — ED.

Lee. . . . I am glad you stand so well with Lord Dartmouth. I am likewise well with him, but he never spoke to me of augmenting your Salary. He is truly a good Man, and wishes sincerely a good Understanding with the Colonies, but does not seem to have Strength equal to his Wishes. Between you and I, the late Measures have been, I suspect, very much the King's own, and he has in some Cases a great Share of what his Friends call *Firmness*. Yet, by some Painstaking and proper Management, the wrong Impressions he has received may be removed, which is perhaps the only Chance America has for obtaining *soon* the Redress she aims at. This entirely to yourself.

And, now we are among Great Folks, let me tell you a little of Lord Hillsborough. I went down to Oxford with and at the Instance of Lord Le Despencer, who is on all occasions very good to me, and seems of late very desirous of my Company. Mr. Todd too was there, who has some Attachment to Lord H. and in a walk we were taking, told me, as a Secret, that Lord H was much chagrin'd at being out of place, and could never forgive me for writing that Pamphlet against his Report about the Ohio. "I assur'd him," says Mr. T., "that I knew you did not write it; and the Consequence is, that he thinks I know the contrary, and wanted to impose upon him in your Favour; and so I find he is now displeas'd with me, and for no other Cause in the World." His friend Bamber Gascoign, too, says, that they *well know* it was written by Dr. Franklin, who was one of the most mischievous Men in England.

That same Day Lord H. called upon Lord Le Despencer, whose chamber and mine were together in Queen's College. I was in the Inner Room shifting, and heard his Voice, but

did not see him, as he went down Stairs immediately with Lord Le D, who mentioning that I was above, he return'd directly and came to me in the pleasantest Manner imaginable. "Dr. F.," says he, "I did not know till this Minute that you were here, and I am come back *to make you my Bow!* I am glad to see you at Oxford, and that you look so well," &c. In Return for this Extravagance, I complimented him on his Son's Performance in the Theatre, tho' indeed it was but indifferent, so that Account was settled. For as People say, when they are angry, *If he strikes me, I'll strike him again;* I think sometimes it may be right to say, *If he flatters me, I'll flatter him again.* This is *Lex Talionis*, returning Offences in kind. His Son however (Lord Fairford,) is a valuable young Man, and his Daughters, Ladys Mary and Charlotte, most amiable young Women. My Quarrel is only with him, who, of all the Men I ever met with, is surely the most unequal in his Treatment of People, the most insincere, and the most wrongheaded; witness, besides his various Behaviour to me, his Duplicity in encouraging us to ask for more Land, *ask for enough to make a Province* (when we at first ask'd only for 2,500,000 Acres), were his Words, pretending to befriend our Application, then doing every thing to defeat it; and reconciling the first to the last, by saying to a Friend, that he meant to defeat it from the Beginning; and that his putting us upon asking so much was with that very View, supposing it too much to be granted. Thus, by the way, his Mortification becomes double. He has serv'd us by the very means he meant to destroy us, and tript up his own Heels into the Bargain. Your affectionate father,

B. FRANKLIN.

687. TO BENJAMIN RUSH (D. S. W.)

London, July 14, 1773.

DEAR SIR,

I received your favour of May 1st, with the pamphlet, for which I am obliged to you. It is well written. I hope that in time the endeavours of the friends to liberty and humanity will get the better of a practice, that has so long disgraced our nation and religion.

A few days after I received your packet for M. Dubourg, I had an opportunity of forwarding it to him per M. Poissonnière, physician of Paris, who kindly undertook to deliver it. M. Dubourg has been translating my book into French. It is nearly printed, and he tells me he purposes a copy for you.

I shall communicate your judicious remark, relating to the septic quality of the air transpired by patients in putrid diseases, to my friend Dr. Priestley. I hope that after having discovered the benefit of fresh and cool air applied to the sick, people will begin to suspect that possibly it may do no harm to the well. I have not seen Dr. Cullen's book, but am glad to hear that he speaks of catarrhs or colds by contagion. I have long been satisfied from observation, that besides the general colds now termed *influenzas*, (which may possibly spread by contagion, as well as by a particular quality of the air), people often catch cold from one another when shut up together in close rooms, coaches, &c., and when sitting near and conversing so as to breathe in each other's transpiration; the disorder being in a certain state. I think, too, that it is the frouzy, corrupt air from animal substances, and the per-

spired matter from our bodies, which being long confined in beds not lately used, and clothes not lately worn, and books long shut up in close rooms, obtains that kind of putridity, which occasions the colds observed upon sleeping in, wearing, and turning over such bedclothes, or books, and not their coldness or dampness. From these causes, but more from too full living, with too little exercise, proceed in my opinion most of the disorders, which for about one hundred and fifty years past the English have called *colds*.

As to Dr. Cullen's cold or catarrh *a frigore*, I question whether such an one ever existed. Travelling in our severe winters, I have suffered cold sometimes to an extremity only short of freezing, but this did not make me *catch cold*. And, for moisture, I have been in the river every evening two or three hours for a fortnight together, when one would suppose I might imbibe enough of it to *take cold* if humidity could give it; but no such effect ever followed. Boys never get cold by swimming. Nor are people at sea, or who live at Bermudas, or St. Helena, small islands, where the air must be ever moist from the dashing and breaking of waves against their rocks on all sides, more subject to colds than those who inhabit part of a continent where the air is driest. Dampness may indeed assist in producing putridity and those miasmata which infect us with the disorder we call a cold; but of itself can never by a little addition of moisture hurt a body filled with watery fluids from head to foot.

With great esteem, and sincere wishes for your welfare, I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

688. TO ANTHONY BENEZET (D. S. W.)

London, July 14, 1773

DEAR FRIEND, I received your Favour of April 24 with the Pamphlets, for which I thank you. I am glad to hear that such humane Sentiments prevail so much more generally than heretofore; that there is Reason to hope our Colonies may in time get clear of a Practice that disgraces them, and, without producing any equivalent Benefit, is dangerous to their very Existence.

I hope erelong to have the Pleasure of seeing you, and conversing with you more fully on that and other Subjects than I can now do by Writing.

In the meantime, believe me ever, dear Friend,

Yours most affectionately,

B. F.

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689. TO JOHN FOXCROFT[1] (D. S. W.)

London, July 14, 1773

DEAR FRIEND, I received yours of June 7, and am glad to find by it that you are safely return'd from your Virginia

[1] John Foxcroft was deputy postmaster under Franklin. He was married August 2, 1770, by the Rev. Thomas Coombe at St. James's Church, Westminster, to Judith Osgood, resident in King Street. The reference in this letter to Mrs. Foxcroft as "my daughter" has caused some persons to leap at the unwarranted conclusion that she was the illegitimate child of Franklin. The indisputable evidence of dates disposes promptly of such speculations. If all the young women whom Franklin called "daughter" and who called him "father" were actually of his flesh and blood, he would have been attended by the largest family that ever dwelt under one roof-tree. — ED.

Journey, having settled your Affairs there to Satisfaction, and that you found your Family well at New York.

I feel for you in the Fall you had out of your Chair. I have had three of those Squelchers in different Journeys, and never desire a fourth.

I do not think it was without Reason that you continu'd so long one of St. Thomas' Disciples; for there was always some cause for doubting. Some People always ride before the Horse's Head. The Draft of the Patent is at length got into the Hands of the Att^{y}-General, who must approve the Form before it passes the Seals, so one would think much more time can scarce be required to compleat the Business; But 't is good not to be too sanguine. He may go into the Country; and the Privy Councillors likewise; and some Months pass before they get together again. Therefore, if you have any Patience, use it.

I suppose Mr. Finlay will be some time at Quebec in settling his Affairs. By the next Packet you will receive a Draft of Instructions for him.

In mine of Dec 2, upon the Post-Office Accounts to Apr. 1772, I took Notice to you that I observed I had full Credit for my Salary; but no Charge appear'd against me for Money paid on my Acc^{t} to Mrs. Franklin from the Philad^{a} Office. I supposed the Thirty Pounds Currency per Month was regularly paid, because I had had no Complaint from her for want of Money, and I expected to find the Charge in the Acc^{ts} of the last Year — that is, to April 5, 1773; but nothing of it appear^{s} there, I am at a loss to understand it, and you take no Notice of my Observation above mentioned. The great ballance due from that Office begins to be remark'd here, and I should have thought the Officer would, for his

own sake, not have neglected to lessen it, by showing what he had paid on my Acc[t]. Pray, my dear Friend, explain this to me.

I find by yours to Mr. Todd that you expect[d] soon another little One. God send my Daughter a good time, and you a Good Boy. Mrs. Stevenson is pleas'd with your Remembrance of her, and joins with Mr. and Mrs. Hewson and myself in best Wishes for you and yours.

I am ever yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

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690. TO ABEL JAMES AND BENJAMIN MORGAN

(P. H. S.)

London, July 14. 1773

GENTLEMEN,

Inclos'd is the Broker's Acct. of Sales of the last Silk, Accts. of Charges, & my Acct Current. — The Price is not so high as we might have expected if the Ruin of Paper Credit here had not occasioned such a Scarcity of Currency as put a stop to a great Part of the Silk Business as well as other Businesses that were carried on by Credit beyond their natural Brands. — Two Months Time was given to Buyers, and I have not received the Money. You may therefore draw for the Ballance of the Acct. £210″ 10″ 5½ on me, or in Case of my Absence on Brown & Collinson, Bankers, with whom I shall leave an Order to honour your Bill. — I hear by several Hands that your Silk is in high Credit; we may therefore hope for rising Prices, The Manufacturers being at first doubtful of a new Commodity, not knowing till Trial has been made how it will work. — I most cordially

wish Success to your generous & Noble Undertaking, believing it likely to prove of great Service to our Country; and am, with great Esteem

Gentlemen
Your most obedient
humble Servant
B. FRANKLIN.

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691. TO SAMUEL DANFORTH[1] (D. S. W.) (L. C.)

London, July 25, 1773.

DEAR SIR,

It gave me great pleasure to receive so chearful an Epistle from a Friend of half a Century's Standing, and to see him commencing Life anew in so valuable a Son. I hope the young Gentleman's Patent will be as beneficial to him, as his Invention must be to the Publick.

I see by the Papers, that you continue to afford her your Services, which makes me almost asham'd of my Resolutions for Retirement. But this Exile, tho' an honourable one, is become grievous to me, in so long a Separation from my Family, Friends, and Country; all which you happily enjoy; and long may you continue to enjoy them. I hope for the great Pleasure of once more seeing and conversing with you: And tho' living-on in one's Children, as we both may do, is a good thing, I cannot but fancy it might be better to continue living ourselves at the same time. I rejoice,

[1] Samuel Danforth (1696–1777), President of the Council of the Massachusetts Colony, and judge of probate for Middlesex County. His son, Samuel (1740–1827), was an eminent physician, and President of the Massachusetts Medical Society. — ED.

therefore, in your kind Intentions of including me in the Benefits of that inestimable Stone, which, curing all Diseases (even old Age itself), will enable us to see the future glorious State of our America, enjoying in full Security her own Liberties, and offering in her Bosom a Participation of them to all the oppress'd of other Nations. I anticipate the jolly Conversation we and twenty more of our Friends may have 100 Years hence on this subject, over that well replenish'd Bowl at Cambridge Commencement. I am, dear Sir, for an Age to come, and for ever, with sincere Esteem and Respect, your most obedient humble Servt.

B. F[RANKLIN.]

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692. TO JOHN WINTHROP (D. S. W.)

London, July 25. '73

DEAR SIR

I received your Favours of March 4 & April 19. Mr. Danforth paid me the 52/ you sent by him. The Vol. of Transactions I think went in a Trunk that I sent to Mr. Jonathan Williams. I hope you receiv'd it safe. Mr. Danforth has succeeded in obtaining his Patent. I hope it will prove serviceable to himself as well as the Publick.

Dr. Priestley is now well provided for. Lord Shelburne is become his Patron, and desirous to have the Company of a Man of general Learning to read with him & superintend the Education of his Children, has taken him from his Congregation at Leeds, settled 300£ a Year upon him for Ten Years, and 200£ for life with a House to live in near his Country Seat. My Lord has a great Library there which the Doctor is now putting in Order & seems very happy in

his new Situation. The learned Leisure he will now have, secure of a comfortable Subsistance, gives his Friends a pleasing Hope of many useful Works from his Pen. I expect him soon in town, when I shall communicate to him your Remarks on his last Book, for which I am sure he will feel himself much obliged to you.

Your Remark on the Passage of Castillioneous will be read at the Society at their next Meeting. I thank you much for the Paper & Accounts of Damage done by Lightning which you have favoured me with. The Conductors begin to be used here. Many Country Seats are furnished with them, some Churches, the Powder Magazine at Purfleet, the Queen's House in the Park, & M. LeRoy of the Academy of Sciences at Paris has lately given a Memoir recommending the Use of them in that Kingdom, which has been long oppos'd and obstructed by Abbé Nollet. The Duke of Tuscany, he says, ce Prince, qui ne connoit pas de délassement plus agréable des soins pénible du Gouvernement, que l'Etude de la Physique, à ordonné, l'Année dernière, qu'on établit de ces Barres audessus de tous les Magasins à poudre de ses Etats; on dit que la République de Venise a donné les Mêmes Ordres, etc.[1] [B. FRANKLIN.]

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693. TO SAMUEL COOPER (B. M.)

DEAR SIR, London, July 25. 1773

I wrote to you on the 7th Instant pretty fully, and am since favoured with yours of June 14th. I am much pleased

[1] As the remainder of this letter is quoted by Franklin in his "Tract relative to the Affair of Hutchinson's Letters," it is not printed here and the reader is referred to page 273. — ED.

with the Proposal of the Virginia Assembly, and the respectful Manner in which it has been received by ours. I think it likely to produce very salutary Effects.[1]

I am glad to know your Opinion, that those Letters came seasonably, and may be of public Utility. I accompanied them with no Restriction relating to myself. My duty to the Province, as their Agent, I thought required the Communication of them, as far as I could. I was sensible I should make Enemies there, and perhaps might offend government here; but those Apprehensions I disregarded. I did not expect and hardly still expect that my sending them could be kept a Secret; but since it is so hitherto, I now wish it may continue so, because the Publication of the Letters, contrary to my Engagement, has changed the Circumstances. If they serve to diminish the Influence and demolish the Power of the Parties, whose Correspondence has been, and would probably have continued to be so mischievous to the Interests and Rights of the Province, I shall on that Account be more easy under any inconveniences I may suffer, either here or there; and shall bear, as well as I can, the Imputation of not having taken sufficient Care to insure the Performance of my Promise.

I think Government can hardly expect to draw any future Service from such Instruments, and one would suppose they must soon be dismiss'd. We shall see.

I hope to be favoured with the Continuance of your Correspondence and Intelligence, while I stay here; it is highly

[1] The Virginia resolves for appointing a Committee of Correspondence arrived in Boston a short time before the assembling of the legislature. The first business after the meeting was to accede to the proposal of Virginia, and to appoint a Committee of Correspondence. — S.

useful to me, and will be, as it always has been, pleasing everywhere. I am ever, dear Sir, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

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694. TO THOMAS CUSHING (D. S. W.)

London, July 25. 1773.

SIR,

I am favour'd with yours of June 14 and 16, contain[g] some Copies of the Resolves of the Committee upon the Letters.[1] I see by your Account of the Transaction, that you could not well prevent what was done. As to the Report of other Copies being come from England, I know that could not be. It was an Expedient to disengage the House. I hope the Possession of the Originals, and the Proceedings upon them, will be attended with salutary Effects to the Province, and then I shall be well pleased.

I observe that you mention, that no Person besides Dr. Cooper and one of the Committee knew they came from me. I did not accompany them with any Request of being myself conceal'd; for believing what I did to be in the Way of my Duty as Agent, tho' I had no doubt of its giving Offence, not only to the Parties expos'd, but to Administration here, I was regardless of the Consequences. However, since the Letters themselves are now copied; and printed, contrary to the Promise I made, I am glad my Name has not been heard on the occasion; and, as I do not see it could be of any Use to the Publick, I now wish it may continue unknown, tho' I hardly expect it. As to yours, you may rely on my never mentioning it, except that I may be oblig'd to show your

[1] Resolves concerning Hutchinson's Letters. — ED.

Letter in my own Vindication to the Person only, who might otherwise think he had reason to blame *me* for breach of Engagement. It must surely be seen here, that, after such a Detection of their Duplicity, in pretending a Regard and Affection to the Province, while they were undermining its Privileges, it is impossible for the Crown to make any good Use of their Services, and that it can never be for its Interest to employ Servants, who are under such universal Odium. The Consequence, one would think, should be their Removal. But perhaps it may be to Titles, or to Pensions, if your Revenue can pay them. I am, with great Esteem, Sir, your most obedient humble Servant.

B. FRANKLIN.

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695. TO WILLIAM FRANKLIN (D. S. W.)

West Wycombe, Lord le Despencer's, Aug. 3. 1773

DEAR SON: — I am come hither to spend a few Days and breathe a little fresh Air.

Nothing material has occurr'd since mine per Sutton, except the final Hearing at the Cockpit relating to Gov. Wentworth,[1] against whose Conduct the Board of Trade had reported, and the Hearing was at the Instance of his Friends against the Report. Their L^ps^ have not yet given their Determination, but it is thought he is in no Danger.

As to the Ohio Affair, it is scarce likely to be got through this Summer, for Reasons I have already given you.

Our Paper-Money A^ct^ not being yet considered here,

[1] Sir John Wentworth (1737–1820), governor of New Hampshire (1766–1776). — ED.

together with the Massachusetts Affairs, will, I believe, keep me another Winter in England.

Temple is just return'd to School from his Summer Vacation. He always behaves himself so well, as to encrease my Affection for him every time he is with me.

As you are like to have a considerable Landed Property, it would be well to make your Will, if you have not already done it, and secure that Property to him. Our Friend Galloway will advise you in the Manner. Whatever he may come to possess, I am persuaded he will make a good Use of it, if his Temper and Understanding do not strangely alter.

I am in this House as much at my Ease as if it was my own; and the Gardens are a Paradise. But a pleasanter Thing is the kind Countenance, the facetious and very intelligent Conversation of mine Host, who having been for many Years engaged in publick Affairs, seen all Parts of Europe, and kept the best Company in the World, is himself the best existing.

I wear the Buttons (for which I thank you) on a suit of light gray which matches them. All the *connoisseurs* in natural Productions are puzzeled with them, not knowing any thing similar.[1]

With love to Betsey, I am ever your affectionate Father

B. FRANKLIN.

[1] See letter to Peter Collinson, Vol. IV, p. 244. — ED.

696. TO GIAMBATISTA BECCARIA [1]

London, Aug. 11, 1773

REV. AND DEAR SIR:

I embrace this opportunity to salute you by means of Mr. Fromond [2] your most ingenious fellow country-man, and to tell you that as my continuous occupation in various affairs hinders me from making further studies in our favorite science I have thought that I could not better promote it among the English, than by procuring a translation into our tongue, of your last excellent book; with the aid of some friends who have contributed to the expense, it is now completed and ready for the press, — May I beg you to take from your plates and to send me 500 copies of the pictures to be used in the projected edition? — They could come by sea from Nice and be directed to your envoy extraordinary, who will have the goodness to permit it — I will promptly pay according to your order whatever may be the expense for paper, printing, and duty, etc. If this can be done it will spare us the expense of the wood cutter.

I am with the greatest esteem always Dear Sir

Your most obb. and most humble servant

BENJ. FRANKLIN.

[1] Translated from "Memorie istoriche intorno Gli studi del Padre Giambatista Beccaria." (Eandi: Turin, 1783.) — ED.

[2] Jean Claude Fromond (1703–1795), an Italian physicist, professor in the University of Pisa. — ED.

697. TO MR. BURDETT (A. P. S.)

London, Augt 21 1773

SIR,

I duly received your Favour of the 10th ——— and should think a Man of your Talents a great Acquisition to the Colonies, if we could make it worth your while to remove hither. No Country is better fitted by Nature to receive Advantage from the Arts of making Rivers Navigable, & forming extensive Communications by the means of short Canals between their Branches, but as yet I doubt whether the Population & internal Commerce is sufficient to bear the Expence. Mr. Ballendene, however may in this Respect be better informed than I am. As yet there has been no Meeting of those concerned in the New Colony, and I apprehend that when they have obtained their Patent, their first Care must be of another kind. But since I am acquainted with your Willingness to engage in such Undertakings, on proper Encouragement I shall omit no Opportunity of doing Justice to you ——— Opinion may have ——

As I am persuaded that in serving you I shall serve my Country.

With great Esteem, I am,
Sir,
Your most obed^{t}
hum Servt.
B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. I should be glad to be inform'd where I can see some Sample of the new Art you mention of printing in Imita-

tion of Paintings. It must be a most valuable Discovery: but more likely to meet with adequate Encouragement on this Side the water than on ours.

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698. TO THOMAS CUSHING (D. S. W.)

London, Augt 24, 1773.

SIR,

I received duly your several Favours of June 25, 26, and 30, with the Papers enclosed. My Lord Dartmouth being at his Country Seat in Staffordshire, I transmitted to him the Address for the Removal of the Govr and Lieu^{t} Govr, and Mr. Bollan and I jointly transmitted the Letter to his Lordship from both Houses. I delivered to Mr. Bollan one Set of the authenticated Copies of the Letters, and we shall coöperate in the Business we are charg'd with.

I am told that the Governor has requested leave to come home; that some great Persons about the Court do not think the Letters, now they have seen them, a sufficient Foundation for the Resolves; that therefore it is not likely he will be remov'd, but suffered to resign, and that some Provision will be made for him here. But nothing, I apprehend, is likely to be done soon, as most of the great Officers of State, who compose the Privy Council, are in the Country, and likely to continue there till the Parliament meets, and perhaps the above may be chiefly Conjecture.

I have inform'd Mr. Lee, that, in Case there should be a hearing, I was directed to engage him as Council for the Province; that I had received no money, but would advance what might be necessary; those Hearings by Council being

expensive. I purpose writing to you again by the Packet, and am with the greatest Respect, Sir, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. No Determination is yet public on the case of Mr. Lewis against Governor Wentworth, which has been a very costly Hearing to both Sides.

B. F.

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699. TO WILLIAM FRANKLIN[1]

London, Sept. 1, 1773.

DEAR SON,

I have now before me yours of July 5 and 6. The August packet is not yet arrived. Dr. Cooper of New York's opinion of the author of the Sermon, however honourable to me, is injurious to the good Bishop; and therefore, I must say, in justice and truth, that I knew nothing of his intention to preach on the subject, and saw not a word of the Sermon till it was printed. Possibly some preceding conversation between us may have turned his thoughts that way; but if so, that is all.

I think the resolutions of the New England townships must have the effect they seem intended for, viz. to show that the discontents were really general and their sentiments concerning their rights unanimous, and not the fiction of a few demagogues, as their governors used to represent them here: and therefore not useless, though they should not as yet induce government to acknowledge their claims; that people may probably think it sufficient for the present to assert and

[1] From "The Works of Dr. Benjamin Franklin" (Duane), 1817, Vol. VI, p. 329.— ED.

hold forth their rights secure; that sooner or later they must be admitted and acknowledged. The declaratory law here, had too its use, viz. to prevent or lessen at least a clamour against the ministry, that repealed the Stamp Act, as if they had given up the right of this country to govern America. Other use indeed it could have none; and I remember Lord Mansfield told the Lords, when upon that bill, that it was nugatory. To be sure, in a dispute between two parties about rights, the declaration of one party can never be supposed to bind the other.

It is said there is now a project on foot to form a union with Ireland, and that Lord Harcourt is to propose it at the next meeting of the Irish Parliament. The eastern side of Ireland are averse to it; supposing, that, when Dublin is no longer the seat of their government it will decline, the harbour being but indifferent, and that the western and southern ports will rise and flourish on its ruins, being good in themselves, and much better situated for commerce. For these same reasons, the western and southern people are inclined to the measure, and 'tis thought it may be carried. But these are difficult affairs, and usually take longer time than the projectors imagine. Mr. Crowley,[1] the author of several proposals for uniting the colonies with the mother country, and who runs about much among the ministers, tells me, the union of Ireland is only the first step towards a general union. He is for having it done by the Parliament of England, without consulting the colonies, and he will warrant, he says, that if the terms proposed are equitable, they will all come in one after the other. He seems rather a little cracked upon the subject.

[1] See letter in reply to Thomas Crowley, Vol. V, p. 166. — Ed.

It is said here, that the famous Boston letters [1] were sent chiefly, if not all, to the late Mr. Wheatly. They fell into my hands, and I thought it my duty to give some principal people there a sight of them, very much with this view, that when they saw the measures they complained of took their rise in a great degree from the representations and recommendations of their own countrymen, their resentment against Britain on account of those measures might abate, as mine had done, and a reconciliation be more easily obtained. In Boston they concealed who sent them, the better to conceal who received and communicated them. And perhaps it is as well, that it should continue a secret. Being of that country myself, I think those letters more heinous than you seem to think them; but you had not read them all, nor perhaps the Council's remarks on them. I have written to decline their agency, on account of my return to America. Dr. Lee succeeds me. I only keep it while I stay, which perhaps will be another winter.

I grieve to hear of the death of my good old friend, Dr. Evans.[2] I have lost so many, since I left America, that I begin to fear that I shall find myself a stranger among strangers, when I return. If so, I must come again to my friends in England. I am ever your affectionate father,

B. FRANKLIN.

[1] Governor Hutchinson's Letters. — ED.

[2] Cadwallader Evans was elected a member of A. P. S., Nov. 1767. He died in 1773, aged 57. — ED.

700. TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN (D. S. W.)

London, September 1, 1773

MY DEAR CHILD:— . . . There is a new Translation of my Book at Paris and printed there, being the 3d Edition in French. A Fifth Edition is now printing here. To the French Edition they have prefix'd a Print of me, which, tho' a Copy of that by Chamberlin, has got so French a Countenance, that you would take me for one of that lively Nation. I think you do not mind such things or I would send you one. I am ever, my dear Debby,

Your affectionate Husband,

B. FRANKLIN.

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701. AN EDICT BY THE KING OF PRUSSIA[1]

Dantzic, Sept. 5, [1773.]

WE have long wondered here at the supineness of the English nation, under the Prussian impositions upon its trade entering our port. We did not, till lately, know the claims, ancient and modern, that hang over that nation; and therefore could not suspect that it might submit to those impositions from a sense of duty or from principles of equity. The following Edict, just made publick, may, if serious, throw some light upon this matter.

[1] From *The Gentleman's Magazine*, October, 1773, p. 513. — ED.

"FREDERIC, by the grace of God, King of Prussia, &c. &c. &c., to all present and to come, (*à tous présens et à venir*,) Health. The peace now enjoyed throughout our dominions, having afforded us leisure to apply ourselves to the regulation of commerce, the improvement of our finances, and at the same time the easing our domestic subjects in their taxes: For these causes, and other good considerations us thereunto moving, we hereby make known, that, after having deliberated these affairs in our council, present our dear brothers, and other great officers of the state, members of the same, we, of our certain knowledge, full power, and authority royal, have made and issued this present Edict, viz.

"Whereas it is well known to all the world, that the first German settlements made in the Island of Britain, were by colonies of people, subject to our renowned ducal ancestors, and drawn from their dominions, under the conduct of Hengist, Horsa, Hella, Uff, Cerdicus, Ida, and others; and that the said colonies have flourished under the protection of our august house for ages past; have never been emancipated therefrom; and yet have hitherto yielded little profit to the same: And whereas we ourself have in the last war fought for and defended the said colonies, against the power of France, and thereby enabled them to make conquests from the said power in America, for which we have not yet received adequate compensation: And whereas it is just and expedient that a revenue should be raised from the said colonies in Britain, towards our indemnification; and that those who are descendants of our ancient subjects, and thence still owe us due obedience, should contribute to the replenishing of our royal coffers as they must have done, had their

ancestors remained in the territories now to us appertaining: We do therefore hereby ordain and command, that, from and after the date of these presents, there shall be levied and paid to our officers of the *customs*, on all goods, wares, and merchandizes, and on all grain and other produce of the earth, exported from the said Island of Britain, and on all goods of whatever kind imported into the same, a duty of four and a half per cent *ad valorem*, for the use of us and our successors. And that the said duty may more effectually be collected, we do hereby ordain, that all ships or vessels bound from Great Britain to any other part of the world, or from any other part of the world to Great Britain, shall in their respective voyages touch at our port of Koningsberg, there to be unladen, searched, and charged with the said duties.

"And whereas there hath been from time to time discovered in the said island of Great Britain, by our colonists there, many mines or beds of iron-stone; and sundry subjects, of our ancient dominion, skilful in converting the said stone into metal, have in time past transported themselves thither, carrying with them and communicating that art; and the inhabitants of the said island, presuming that they had a natural right to make the best use they could of the natural productions of their country for their own benefit, have not only built furnaces for smelting the said stone into iron, but have erected plating-forges, slitting-mills, and steel-furnaces, for the more convenient manufacturing of the same; thereby endangering a diminution of the said manufacture in our ancient dominion; — we do therefore hereby farther ordain, that, from and after the date hereof, no mill or other engine for slitting or rolling of iron, or any plating-forge to

work with a tilt-hammer, or any furnace for making steel, shall be erected or continued in the said island of Great Britain: And the Lord Lieutenant of every county in the said island is hereby commanded, on information of any such erection within his county, to order and by force to cause the same to be abated and destroyed; as he shall answer the neglect thereof to us at his peril. But we are nevertheless graciously pleased to permit the inhabitants of the said island to transport their iron into Prussia, there to be manufactured, and to them returned; they paying our Prussian subjects for the workmanship, with all the costs of commission, freight, and risk, coming and returning; any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

"We do not, however, think fit to extend this our indulgence to the article of wool; but, meaning to encourage, not only the manufacturing of woollen cloth, but also the raising of wool, in our ancient dominions, and to prevent both, as much as may be, in our said island, we do hereby absolutely forbid the transportation of wool from thence, even to the mother country, Prussia; and that those islanders may be farther and more effectually restrained in making any advantage of their own wool in the way of manufacture, we command that none shall be carried out of one county into another; nor shall any worsted, bay, or woollen yarn, cloth, says, bays, kerseys, serges, frizes, druggets, cloth-serges, shalloons, or any other drapery stuffs, or woollen manufactures whatsoever, made up or mixed with wool in any of the said counties, be carried into any other county, or be waterborne even across the smallest river or creek, on penalty of forfeiture of the same, together with the boats, carriages, horses, &c., that shall be employed in removing them.

Nevertheless, our loving subjects there are hereby permitted (if they think proper) to use all their wool as manure for the improvement of their lands.

"And whereas the art and mystery of making hats hath arrived at great perfection in Prussia, and the making of hats by our remoter subjects ought to be as much as possible restrained: And forasmuch as the islanders before mentioned, being in possession of wool, beaver and other furs, have presumptuously conceived they had a right to make some advantage thereof, by manufacturing the same into hats, to the prejudice of our domestic manufacture: We do therefore hereby strictly command and ordain, that no hats or felts whatsoever, dyed or undyed, finished or unfinished, shall be loaded or put into or upon any vessel, cart, carriage, or horse, to be transported or conveyed out of one county in the said island into another county, or to any other place whatsoever, by any person or persons whatsoever; on pain of forfeiting the same, with a penalty of five hundred pounds sterling for every offence. Nor shall any hat-maker, in any of the said counties, employ more than two apprentices, on penalty of five pounds sterling per month; we intending hereby, that such hatmakers, being so restrained, both in the production and sale of their commodity, may find no advantage in continuing their business. But, lest the said islanders should suffer inconveniency by the want of hats, we are farther graciously pleased to permit them to send their beaver furs to Prussia; and we also permit hats made thereof to be exported from Prussia to Britain; the people thus favoured to pay all costs and charges of manufacturing, interest, commission to our merchants, insurance and freight going and returning, as in the case of iron.

"And, lastly, being willing farther to favour our said colonies in Britain, we do hereby also ordain and command, that all the *thieves*, highway and street robbers, housebreakers, forgerers, murderers, s—d—tes, and villains of every denomination, who have forfeited their lives to the law in Prussia; but whom we, in our great clemency, do not think fit here to hang, shall be emptied out of our gaols into the said island of Great Britain, for the better peopling of that country.

"We flatter ourselves, that these our royal regulations and commands will be thought just and reasonable by our much-favoured colonists in England; the said regulations being copied from their statutes of 10 and 11 William III. c. 10, 5 Geo. II. c. 22, 23, Geo. II. c. 29, 4 Geo. I. c. 11, and from other equitable laws made by their parliaments; or from instructions given by their Princes; or from resolutions of both Houses, entered into for the good government of their *own colonies in Ireland and America.*

"And all persons in the said island are hereby cautioned not to oppose in any wise the execution of this our Edict, or any part thereof, such opposition being high treason; of which all who are suspected shall be transported in fetters from Britain to Prussia, there to be tried and executed according to the Prussian law.

"Such is our pleasure.

"Given at Potsdam, this twenty-fifth day of the month of August, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-three, and in the thirty-third year of our reign.

"By the King, in his Council.

"RECHTMAESSIG, *Sec.*"

Some take this Edict to be merely one of the King's *Jeux d'Esprit:* others suppose it serious, and that he means a quarrel with England; but all here think the assertion it concludes with, "that these regulations are copied from acts of the English parliament respecting their colonies," a very injurious one; it being impossible to believe, that a people distinguished for their love of liberty, a nation so wise, so liberal in its sentiments, so just and equitable towards its neighbours, should, from mean and injudicious views of petty immediate profit, treat its own children in a manner so arbitrary and tyrannical!

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702. TO THOMAS CUSHING[1]

London, September 12, 1773.

SIR,

The above is a copy of my last, per packet. Inclosed is the original letter therein mentioned. His Lordship continues in the country, but is expected (Secretary Pownall tells me) the beginning of next month.

To avoid repealing the American tea duty, and yet find a vent for tea, a project is executing to send it from hence, on account of the East India Company to be sold in America, agreeable to a late act, impowering the Lords of the Treasury to grant licenses to the company to export tea thither, under certain restrictions, duty free. Some friends of government (as they are called) in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, &c., are to be favoured with the commission, who undertake

[1] From "The Works of Dr. Benjamin Franklin" (Duane), 1817, Vol. VI, p. 331. — ED.

by their interest to carry the measure through in the colonies. How the other merchants, thus excluded from the tea trade, will like this, I cannot foresee. Their agreement, if I remember right, was not to import tea, till the duty shall be repealed. Perhaps they will think themselves still obliged by that agreement, notwithstanding this temporary expedient; which is only to introduce the tea for the present, and may be dropped next year, and the duty again required, the granting or refusing such license from time to time remaining in the power of the treasury. And it will seem hard, while their hands are tied, to see the profits of that article all engrossed by a few particulars.

Inclosed I take the liberty of sending you a small piece of mine, written to expose, in as striking a light as I could, to the nation, the absurdity of the measures towards America, and to spur the ministry if possible to a change of those measures.[1] Please to present my duty to the House, and respects to the Committee. I have the honour to be, with much esteem, Sir, &c. B. FRANKLIN.

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703. TO JOHN BASKERVILLE (A. P. S.)

London, Sept. 21. 1773.

DEAR SIR,

I duly received your Favour, of the 24th past and some time after the parcel containing the Specimens, and your valuable Present of Shaftesbury, excellently printed, for which I hold myself greatly obliged to you. The Specimens

[1] Probably the "Rules by which a Great Empire may be reduced to a Small One," or "An Edict of the King of Prussia." — ED.

I shall distribute by the first ship among the Printers of America, and I hope to your Advantage. I suppose no Orders will come unaccompanied by Bills, or Money, and I would not advise you to give Credit, especially as I do not think it will be necessary.

The Sheet of Chinese Paper, from its enormous Size, is a great Curiosity. I see the Marks of the Mold in it. One Side is smooth; that, I imagine, is the Side that was apply'd to the smooth Face of the Kiln on which it was dry'd. The little Ridges on the other Side I take to be Marks of a Brush pass'd over it to press it against that Face, in places where it might be kept off by Air between, and which would otherwise prevent its receiving the Smoothness. But we will talk further of this, when I have the Pleasure of seeing you.

You speak of enlarging your Foundery. Here are all the matrices of James's Foundery [1] to be sold. There seem to be among them some tolerable Hebrews and Greeks, and some good Blacks. I suppose you know them. Shall I buy any of them for you? I thank you for your kind Invitation.[2] Perhaps I may embrace it for a few Days. My best Respects to good Mrs. Baskerville, & believe me ever, with great esteem,

Your most obedient hum[le] Serv[t]

B. F.

[1] Rumford and James. — Ed.

[2] To visit Baskerville at "Easy Hill." B's letter of August 24, 1773, is in A. P. S. — Ed.

704. RULES

1773

BY WHICH

A GREAT EMPIRE MAY BE REDUCED TO A SMALL ONE;

PRESENTED TO A LATE MINISTER,

WHEN HE ENTERED UPON HIS ADMINISTRATION.[1]

AN ancient Sage boasted, that, tho' he could not fiddle, he knew how to make a *great city* of a *little one.* The science that I, a modern simpleton, am about to communicate, is the very reverse.

I address myself to all ministers who have the management of extensive dominions, which from their very greatness are become troublesome to govern, because the multiplicity of their affairs leaves no time for *fiddling.*

I. In the first place, gentlemen, you are to consider, that a great empire, like a great cake, is most easily diminished at the edges. Turn your attention, therefore, first to your *remotest* provinces; that, as you get rid of them, the next may follow in order.

II. That the possibility of this separation may always exist, take special care the provinces are never incorporated with the mother country; that they do not enjoy the same common rights, the same privileges in commerce; and that they are governed by *severer* laws, all of *your enacting*, with-

[1] Printed from *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. XLIII, September, 1773, p. 441. There is an incomplete rough draft in A. P. S. The Minister referred to was the Earl of Hillsborough. — ED.

out allowing them any share in the choice of the legislators. By carefully making and preserving such distinctions, you will (to keep to my simile of the cake) act like a wise gingerbread-baker, who, to facilitate a division, cuts his dough half through in those places where, when baked, he would have it *broken to pieces.*

III. Those remote provinces have perhaps been acquired, purchased, or conquered, at the *sole expence* of the settlers, or their ancestors, without the aid of the mother country. If this should happen to increase her *strength*, by their growing numbers, ready to join in her wars; her *commerce*, by their growing demand for her manufactures; or her *naval power*, by greater employment for her ships and seamen, they may probably suppose some merit in this, and that it entitles them to some favour; you are therefore to *forget it all, or resent it*, as if they had done you injury. If they happen to be zealous whigs, friends of liberty, nurtured in revolution principles, *remember all that* to their prejudice, and resolve to punish it; for such principles, after a revolution is thoroughly established, are of *no more use;* they are even *odious* and *abominable.*

IV. However peaceably your colonies have submitted to your government, shewn their affection to your interests, and patiently borne their grievances; you are to *suppose* them always inclined to revolt, and treat them accordingly. Quarter troops among them, who by their insolence may *provoke* the rising of mobs, and by their bullets and bayonets *suppress* them. By this means, like the husband who uses his wife ill *from suspicion*, you may in time convert your *suspicions* into *realities.*

V. Remote provinces must have *Governors* and *Judges*, to

represent the Royal Person, and execute everywhere the delegated parts of his office and authority. You ministers know, that much of the strength of government depends on the *opinion* of the people; and much of that opinion on the *choice of rulers* placed immediately over them. If you send them wise and good men for governors, who study the interest of the colonists, and advance their prosperity, they will think their King wise and good, and that he wishes the welfare of his subjects. If you send them learned and upright men for Judges, they will think him a lover of justice. This may attach your provinces more to his government. You are therefore to be careful whom you recommend for those offices. If you can find prodigals, who have ruined their fortunes, broken gamesters or stockjobbers, these may do well as *governors;* for they will probably be rapacious, and provoke the people by their extortions. Wrangling proctors and pettifogging lawyers, too, are not amiss; for they will be for ever disputing and quarrelling with their little parliaments. If withal they should be ignorant, wrongheaded, and insolent, so much the better. Attornies' clerks and Newgate solicitors will do for *Chief Justices*, especially if they hold their places *during your pleasure;* and all will contribute to impress those ideas of your government, that are proper for a people *you would wish to renounce it.*

VI. To confirm these impressions, and strike them deeper, whenever the injured come to the capital with complaints of mal-administration, oppression, or injustice, punish such suitors with long delay, enormous expence, and a final judgment in favour of the oppressor. This will have an admirable effect every way. The trouble of future complaints will be prevented, and Governors and Judges will be encour-

aged to farther acts of oppression and injustice; and thence the people may become more disaffected, and at length desperate.

VII. When such Governors have crammed their coffers, and made themselves so odious to the people that they can no longer remain among them, with safety to their persons, *recall and reward* them with pensions. You may make them *baronets* too, if that respectable order should not think fit to resent it. All will contribute to encourage new governors in the same practice, and make the supreme government, *detestable.*

VIII. If, when you are engaged in war, your colonies should vie in liberal aids of men and money against the common enemy, upon your simple requisition, and give far beyond their abilities, reflect that a penny taken from them by your power is more honourable to you, than a pound presented by their benevolence; despise therefore their voluntary grants, and resolve to harass them with novel taxes. They will probably complain to your parliaments, that they are taxed by a body in which they have no representative, and that this is contrary to common right. They will petition for redress. Let the Parliaments flout their claims, reject their petitions, refuse even to suffer the reading of them, and treat the petitioners with the utmost contempt. Nothing can have a better effect in producing the alienation proposed; for though many can forgive injuries, *none ever forgave contempt.*

IX. In laying these taxes, never regard the heavy burthens those remote people already undergo, in defending their own frontiers, supporting their own provincial governments, making new roads, building bridges, churches, and other

public edifices, which in old countries have been done to your hands by your ancestors, but which occasion constant calls and demands on the purses of a new people. Forget the *restraints* you lay on their trade for *your own* benefit, and the advantage a *monopoly* of this trade gives your exacting merchants. Think nothing of the wealth those merchants and your manufacturers acquire by the colony commerce; their encreased ability thereby to pay taxes at home; their accumulating, in the price of their commodities, most of those taxes, and so levying them from their consuming customers; all this, and the employment and support of thousands of your poor by the colonists, you are *intirely to forget.* But remember to make your arbitrary tax more grievous to your provinces, by public declarations importing that your power of taxing them has *no limits;* so that when you take from them without their consent one shilling in the pound, you have a clear right to the other nineteen. This will probably weaken every idea of *security in their property*, and convince them, that under such a government they *have nothing they can call their own;* which can scarce fail of producing the *happiest consequences!*

X. Possibly, indeed, some of them might still comfort themselves, and say, "Though we have no property, we have yet *something* left that is valuable; we have constitutional *liberty*, both of person and of conscience. This King, these Lords, and these Commons, who it seems are too remote from us to know us, and feel for us, cannot take from us our *Habeas Corpus* right, or our right of trial *by a jury of our neighbours;* they cannot deprive us of the exercise of our religion, alter our ecclesiastical constitution, and compel us to be Papists, if they please, or Mahometans." To annihilate

this comfort, begin by laws to perplex their commerce with infinite regulations, impossible to be remembered and observed; ordain seizures of their property for every failure; take away the trial of such property by Jury, and give it to arbitrary Judges of your own appointing, and of the lowest characters in the country, whose salaries and emoluments are to arise out of the duties or condemnations, and whose appointments are *during pleasure.* Then let there be a formal declaration of both Houses, that opposition to your edicts is *treason,* and that any person suspected of treason in the provinces may, according to some obsolete law, be seized and sent to the metropolis of the empire for trial; and pass an act, that those there charged with certain other offences, shall be sent away in chains from their friends and country to be tried in the same manner for felony. Then erect a new Court of Inquisition among them, accompanied by an armed force, with instructions to transport all such suspected persons; to be ruined by the expence, if they bring over evidences to prove their innocence, or be found guilty and hanged, if they cannot afford it. And, lest the people should think you cannot possibly go any farther, pass another solemn declaratory act, "that King, Lords, Commons had, hath, and of right ought to have, full power and authority to make statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the unrepresented provinces IN ALL CASES WHATSOEVER." This will include *spiritual* with temporal, and, taken together, must operate wonderfully to your purpose; by convincing them, that they are at present under a power something like that spoken of in the scriptures, which can not only *kill their bodies,* but *damn their souls* to all eternity, by compelling them, if it pleases, *to worship the Devil.*

XI. To make your taxes more odious, and more likely to procure resistance, send from the capital a board of officers to superintend the collection, composed of the most *indiscreet*, *ill-bred*, and *insolent* you can find. Let these have large salaries out of the extorted revenue, and live in open, grating luxury upon the sweat and blood of the industrious; whom they are to worry continually with groundless and expensive prosecutions before the abovementioned arbitrary revenue Judges; *all at the cost of the party prosecuted*, tho' acquitted, because *the King is to pay no costs*. Let these men, *by your order*, be exempted from all the common taxes and burthens of the province, though they and their property are protected by its laws. If any revenue officers are *suspected* of the least tenderness for the people, discard them. If others are justly complained of, protect and reward them. If any of the under officers behave so as to provoke the people to drub them, promote those to better offices: this will encourage others to procure for themselves such profitable drubbings, by multiplying and enlarging such provocations, and *all will work towards the end you aim at.*

XII. Another way to make your tax odious, is to misapply the produce of it. If it was originally appropriated for the *defence* of the provinces, the better support of government, and the administration of justice, where it may be *necessary*, then apply none of it to that *defence*, but bestow it where it is *not necessary*, in augmented salaries or pensions to every governor, who has distinguished himself by his enmity to the people, and by calumniating them to their sovereign. This will make them pay it more unwillingly, and be more apt to quarrel with those that collect it and those that imposed it, who will quarrel again with them, and all shall contribute

to your *main purpose*, of making them *weary of your government.*

XIII. If the people of any province have been accustomed to support their own Governors and Judges to satisfaction, you are to apprehend that such Governors and Judges may be thereby influenced to treat the people kindly, and to do them justice. This is another reason for applying part of that revenue in larger salaries to such Governors and Judges, given, as their commissions are, *during your pleasure* only; forbidding them to take any salaries from their provinces; that thus the people may no longer hope any kindness from their Governors, or (in Crown cases) any justice from their Judges. And, as the money thus misapplied in one province is extorted from all, probably *all will resent the misapplication.*

XIV. If the parliaments of your provinces should dare to claim rights, or complain of your administration, order them to be harrassed with *repeated dissolutions.* If the same men are continually returned by new elections, adjourn their meetings to some country village, where they cannot be accommodated, and there keep them *during pleasure;* for this, you know, is your PREROGATIVE; and an excellent one it is, as you may manage it to promote discontents among the people, diminish their respect, and *increase their disaffection.*

XV. Convert the brave, honest officers of your *navy* into pimping tide-waiters and colony officers of the *customs.* Let those, who in time of war fought gallantly in defence of the commerce of their countrymen, in peace be taught to prey upon it. Let them learn to be corrupted by great and real smugglers; but (to shew their diligence) scour with armed boats every bay, harbour, river, creek, cove, or nook

throughout the coast of your colonies; stop and detain every coaster, every wood-boat, every fisherman, tumble their cargoes and even their ballast inside out and upside down; and, if a penn'orth of pins is found un-entered, let the whole be seized and confiscated. Thus shall the trade of your colonists suffer more from their friends in time of peace, than it did from their enemies in war. Then let these boats crews land upon every farm in their way, rob the orchards, steal the pigs and the poultry, and insult the inhabitants. If the injured and exasperated farmers, unable to procure other justice, should attack the aggressors, drub them, and burn their boats; you are to call this ***high treason and rebellion***, order fleets and armies into their country, and threaten to carry all the offenders three thousand miles to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. *O! this will work admirably!*

XVI. If you are told of discontents in your colonies, never believe that they are general, or that you have given occasion for them; therefore do not think of applying any remedy, or of changing any offensive measure. Redress no grievance, lest they should be encouraged to demand the redress of some other grievance. Grant no request that is just and reasonable, lest they should make another that is unreasonable. Take all your informations of the state of the colonies from your Governors and officers in enmity with them. Encourage and reward these *leasing-makers;* secrete their lying accusations, lest they should be confuted; but act upon them as the clearest evidence; and believe nothing you hear from the friends of the people: suppose all ***their*** complaints to be invented and promoted by a few factious demagogues, whom if you could catch and hang, all would be quiet. Catch and hang a few of them accordingly; and the ***blood***

of the Martyrs shall *work miracles* in favour of your purpose.

XVII. If you see *rival nations* rejoicing at the prospect of your disunion with your provinces, and endeavouring to promote it; if they translate, publish, and applaud all the complaints of your discontented colonists, at the same time privately stimulating you to severer measures, let not that *alarm* or offend you. Why should it, since you all mean *the same thing?*

XVIII. If any colony should at their own charge erect a fortress to secure their port against the fleets of a foreign enemy, get your Governor to betray that fortress into your hands. Never think of paying what it cost the country, for that would look, at least, like some regard for justice; but turn it into a citadel to awe the inhabitants and curb their commerce. If they should have lodged in such fortress the very arms they bought and used to aid you in your conquests, seize them all; it will provoke like *ingratitude* added to *robbery*. One admirable effect of these operations will be, to discourage every other colony from erecting such defences, and so your enemies may more easily invade them; to the great disgrace of your government, and of course *the furtherance of your project.*

XIX. Send armies into their country under pretence of protecting the inhabitants; but, instead of garrisoning the forts on their frontiers with those troops, to prevent incursions, demolish those forts, and order the troops into the heart of the country, that the savages may be encouraged to attack the frontiers, and that the troops may be protected by the inhabitants. This will seem to proceed from your ill will or your ignorance, and contribute farther to produce and

strengthen an opinion among them, ***that you are no longer fit to govern them.***

XX. Lastly, invest the General of your army in the provinces, with great and unconstitutional powers, and free him from the controul of even your own Civil Governors. Let him have troops enow under his command, with all the fortresses in his possession; and who knows but (like some provincial Generals in the Roman empire, and encouraged by the universal discontent you have produced) he may take it into his head to set up for himself? If he should, and you have carefully practised these few *excellent rules* of mine, take my word for it, all the provinces will immediately join him; and you will that day (if you have not done it sooner) get rid of the trouble of governing them, and all the *plagues* attending their *commerce* and connection from henceforth and for ever. Q. E. D.

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705. TO THOMAS CUSHING (P. R. O.)

Sept. 23, 1773

SIR,

Nothing of Importance has occur'd since my last. This serves chiefly to cover a Newspaper in which I have Stated a few of the American Grievances that were omitted in my "Receipt for Diminishing a Great Empire." These odd ways of presenting Matters to the publick View sometimes occasion them to be more read, talk'd of, and more attended to.

With great Respect, I am, Sir, etc.

B. FRANKLIN.

706. TO THOMAS PERCIVAL[1] (A. P. S.)

West Wycomb, the Seat of Lord Le Despencer, Sept. 25. 1773

DEAR SIR,

I have received here your Favour of the 18th, enclosing your very valuable Paper of the Numeration of Manchester. Such enquiries may be as useful as they are curious, and if once made general would greatly assist in the prudent Government of a State.

In China I have somewhere read, an Account is yearly taken of the Numbers of People, and the Quantities of Provision produc'd. This Account is transmitted to the Emperor, whose Ministers can thence foresee a Scarcity, likely to happen in any Province, and from what Province it can best be supply'd in good time. To facilitate the Collecting this Account, and prevent the Necessity of entring Houses and spending time in asking and answering Questions, each House is furnish'd with a little Board, to be hung without the Door during a certain time each Year; on which Board is marked certain Words, against which the Inhabitant is to mark Number or Quantity, somewhat in this Manner;

Men, 1
Women, 2
Children, 3
Rice or Wheat, 5 Quarters
Flesh, &c. 1,000 lbs.

[1] Thomas Percival (1740–1804), a learned and eminent physician of Manchester, in England, and author of several valuable publications on medical and philosophical subjects. — ED.

All under 16 are accounted Children, and all above Men and Women. Any other Particulars, which the Government desires information of, are occasionally mark'd on the same Boards. Thus the Officers, appointed to collect the Accounts in each District, have only to pass before the Doors, and enter in their Book what they find mark'd on the Board, without giving the least Trouble to the Family. There is a Penalty on marking falsly; and, as Neighbours must know nearly the Truth of each other's Account, they dare not expose themselves, by a false one, to each other's Accusation. Perhaps such a Regulation is scarce practicable with us.

The Difference of Deaths, between 1 in 28 at Manchester, and 1 in 120 at Morton, is surprizing. It seems to show the Unwholesomeness of the Manufacturing Life; owing perhaps to the Confinement in small, Close Rooms, or in larger with Numbers, or to Poverty and want of Necessaries, or to Drinking, or to all of them. Farmers who manufacture in their own Families what they have occasion for and no more, are perhaps the happiest People and the healthiest.

'Tis a curious Remark that moist Seasons are the healthiest. The Gentry of England are remarkably afraid of Moisture, and of Air. But Seamen, who live in perpetually moist Air, are always Healthy, if they have good Provisions. The Inhabitants of Bermuda, St. Helena, and other Islands far from Continents, surrounded with Rocks against which the Waves continually dashing fill the Air with Spray & Vapour, and where no Wind can arrive that does not pass over much Sea, and of course bring much Moisture, these People are remarkably healthy. And I have long thought that mere moist Air has no ill Effect on the Constitution; tho' Air impregnated with Vapours from putrid Marshes is found

pernicious, not from the Moisture, but the Putridity. It seems strange that a Man whose Body is compos'd in great Part of moist Fluids, whose Blood and Juices are so watery, who can swallow Quantities of Water and Small Beer daily without Inconvenience, should fancy that a little more or less Moisture in the Air should be of such Importance. But we abound in Absurdity and Inconsistency.

Thus, tho it is generally allowed that *taking the Air* is a good Thing, yet what Caution against Air, what stopping of Crevices, what wrapping up in warm Clothes, what shutting of Doors and Windows! even in the midst of Summer! Many London Families go out once a Day to take the Air; three or four Persons in a Coach, one perhaps Sick; these go three or four Miles, or as many Turns in Hide Park, with the Glasses both up close, all breathing over & over again the same Air they brought out of Town with them in the Coach with the least change possible, and render'd worse and worse every moment. And this they call *taking the Air*. From many Years' Observations on myself and others, I am persuaded we are on a wrong Scent in supposing Moist or cold Air, the Causes of that Disorder we call *a Cold*. Some unknown Quality in the Air may perhaps produce Colds, as in the *Influenza;* but generally I apprehend they are the Effects of too full Living in proportion to our Exercise.

Excuse, if you can, my Intruding into your Province, and believe me ever with sincere Esteem, dear Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

707. TO JAN INGENHOUSZ (A. P. S.)

London, Sept. 30. 1773

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I rejoic'd as much as any friend could do, at the News we receiv'd here from time to time of your Successes in your Profession, and of the safe Recovery of your illustrious Patients of that most amiable Family. But it griev'd us all at the same time to hear that you did not yourself enjoy Health in that Country. Surely their known Goodness will graciously give you Leave of Absence, if you have but the Courage to request it, and permit you to come and reside in England, which always agreed well with your Constitution. All your Friends here will be made happy by such an Event.[1]

I had proposed to return to America this last Summer, but some Events in our Colony Affairs, induc'd me to stay here another Winter. Some Time in May or June next I believe I shall leave England. May I hope to see you here once more.

I shall be glad to see the work of Abbé Fontana on that Disease of Wheat. As yet I have not heard that it is come to England.

Sir W. Hamilton writes from Naples, that after many Experiments, he has not been able to perceive any certain

[1] Dr. Ingenhousz was now residing at Vienna, whither he had gone to inoculate for the smallpox the Archduchess Theresa Elizabeth, the only daughter of the Emperor, and the Archdukes Ferdinand and Maximilian, the Emperor's brothers. He remained in that city several years. He was in England during a large part of the year 1779, when he published his work, entitled "Experiments on Vegetables, &c." In the title-page of that work, he styles himself, "Counsellor of the Court and Body Physician to their Imperial Majesties." — S.

Signs of Electricity in the Torpedo. It is perhaps best that there should be two Opinions on this Subject, for that may occasion a more thorough Examination of it, & finally make us better acquainted with it.

It is not difficult to construct a Needle, so as to keep pointing to the Meridian of any one Place, whatever may be the Variation in that Place. But to point always to the Meridian, wherever the Needle may be remov'd, is I apprehend not possible.

Mr. Nairne, has, as you have heard, finished a very fine Electric Machine. I have seen Sparks from the prime Conductor 13 Inches in length. He has added a large Battery, and produces a Discharge from it sufficiently strong to blast growing Vegetables, as Lightning is suppos'd to do. From a greater Force used, perhaps some more Discoveries may be made. I am much pleas'd with the Account you give me of your new Machine of white Velvet rubbed upon Hareskin.

Last Year the Board of Ordnance apply'd to the Royal Society here for their Opinion of the Propriety of erecting Conductors to secure the Powder Magazines at Purfleet. The Society appointed a Committee to view the Magazines, and report their Advice. The members appointed were Messrs. Cavendish, Watson, Delavall, Robertson, Wilson, and myself. We accordingly, after viewing them, drew up a Report, recommending Conductors to each, elevated 10 feet above the Roof, & pointed at the Ends. Mr. Delavall did not attend but all the rest agreed in the Report, only Mr. Wilson objected to pointing the Rods, asserting that blunt Ends or Knobs would be better. The Work however was finished according to our Direction. He was displeas'd, that his Opinion was not followed, and has written a Pamphlet

against Points. I have not answered it, being averse to Disputes. But in a new Translation and Edition of my Book, printed lately at Paris, in 2 vols. 4, you will see some new Experiments of mine, with the Reasonings upon them, which satisfy'd the Committee. They are not yet printed in English, but will in a new Edition now printing at Oxford, and perhaps they will be in the next Transactions.

It has been a Fashion to decry Hawkesworth's Book;[1] but it does not deserve the Treatment it has met with. It acquaints us with new People having new Customs, and teaches us a good Deal of new Knowledge.

Capt. Phips is returned, not having been able to approach the Pole nearer than 81 Degrees, the Ice preventing.

M. Fremont, an ingenious young Italian, who was lately here, gave me a little SpyGlass of his Making, upon Père Boschovich's Principles, the Ocular Lens being a composition of different Glasses instead of the Objective. It is indeed a very good one.

Sir John Pringle is return'd from Scotland, better in Health than heretofore. He always speaks of you with Respect and affection, as does Dr. Huck and all that knew you.

I am ever, with the sincerest Esteem, dear Sir,

Your faithful and most obed^{t} serv^{t},

B. F[RANKLIN.]

[1] "An Account of the Voyages undertaken by order of his present Majesty for making Discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere . . . drawn up from the Journals which were kept by the several commanders and from the Papers of Joseph Banks, Esq., by John Hawkesworth, LL.D., London, 1773." For criticism of the book, see Mrs. Delany "Autobiography," 1862, 2d Series, I. 552. — ED.

708. TO WILLIAM FRANKLIN[1]

London, October 6, 1773.

DEAR SON,

I wrote to you the 1st of last month, since which I have received yours of July 29, from New York. I know not what letters of mine Governor H[utchinson] could mean, as advising the people to insist on their independency. But whatever they were, I suppose he has sent copies of them hither, having heard some whisperings about them. I shall however, be able at any time to justify every thing I have written; the purport being uniformly this, that they should carefully avoid all tumults and every violent measure, and content themselves with verbally keeping up their claims, and holding forth their rights whenever occasion requires; secure, that, from the growing importance of America, those claims will ere long be attended to and acknowledged.

From a long and thorough consideration of the subject, I am indeed of opinion, that the parliament has no right to make any law whatever, binding on the colonies; that the king, and not the king, lords, and commons collectively, is their sovereign; and that the king, with their respective parliaments, is their only legislator. I know your sentiments differ from mine on these subjects. You are a thorough government man, which I do not wonder at, nor do I aim at converting you. I only wish you to act uprightly and steadily, avoiding that duplicity, which in Hutchinson, adds contempt to indignation. If you can promote the prosperity of your people, and leave them happier than you found them,

[1] From "The Works of Dr. Benjamin Franklin" (Duane), 1817, Vol. VI, p. 332. — ED.

whatever your political principles are, your memory will be honoured.

I have written two pieces here lately for the *Public Advertiser*, on American affairs, designed to expose the conduct of this country towards the colonies in a short, comprehensive, and striking view, and stated, therefore, in out-of-the-way forms, as most likely to take the general attention. The first was called "*Rules by which a Great Empire may be reduced to a small one;*" the second, "*An Edict of the King of Prussia.*" I sent you one of the first, but could not get enough of the second to spare you one, though my clerk went the next morning to the printer's, and wherever they were sold. They were all gone but two. In my own mind I preferred the first, as a composition for the quantity and variety of the matter contained, and a kind of spirited ending of each paragraph. But I find that others here generally prefer the second.

I am not suspected as the author, except by one or two friends; and have heard the latter spoken of in the highest terms, as the keenest and severest piece that has appeared here for a long time. Lord Mansfield, I hear, said of it, that it *was very* ABLE *and very* ARTFUL *indeed;* and would do mischief by giving here a bad impression of the measures of government; and in the colonies, by encouraging them in their contumacy. It is reprinted in the *Chronicle*, where you will see it, but stripped of all the capitaling and italicing, that intimate the allusions and mark the emphasis of written discourses, to bring them as near as possible to those spoken: printing such a piece all in one even small character, seems to me like repeating one of Whitefield's sermons in the monotony of a schoolboy.

What made it the more noticed here was, that people in reading it were, as the phrase is, *taken in*, till they had got half through it, and imagined it a real edict, to which mistake I suppose the King of Prussia's *character* must have contributed. I was down at Lord Le Despencer's, when the post brought that day's papers. Mr. Whitehead [1] was there, too, (Paul Whitehead, the author of "Manners,") who runs early through all the papers, and tells the company what he finds remarkable. He had them in another room, and we were chatting in the breakfast parlour, when he came running in to us, out of breath, with the paper in his hand. Here! says he, here's news for ye! *Here's the King of Prussia, claiming a right to this kingdom!* All stared, and I as much as anybody; and he went on to read it. When he had read two or three paragraphs, a gentleman present said, *Damn his impudence, I dare say, we shall hear by next post that he is upon his march with one hundred thousand men to back this.* Whitehead, who is very shrewd, soon after began to smoke it, and looking in my face said, *I'll be hanged if this is not some of your American jokes upon us.* The reading went on, and ended with abundance of laughing, and a general verdict that it was a fair hit: and the piece was cut out of the paper and preserved in my Lord's collection.

I do not wonder that Hutchinson should be dejected. It must be an uncomfortable thing to live among people who he is conscious universally detest him. Yet I fancy he will not have leave to come home, both because they know not well

[1] Paul Whitehead (1710–1774). For Johnson's opinion of "Manners," see Boswell, "Life," V, 116. The Ms. of "Manners" (1739) is in B. M. (Add. Mss. 25, 277, ff. 117–120). Whitehead bequeathed his heart to his friend and patron, Lord Le Despencer, and it is buried in the mausoleum at High Wycombe. — ED.

what to do with him, and because they do not very well like his conduct. I am ever your affectionate father,

B. FRANKLIN.

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709. TO THOMAS CUSHING [1]

London, November 1, 1773.

SIR,

I duly received your favour of 26th of August, with the letter inclosed for Lord Dartmouth, which I immediately sent to him. As soon as he comes to town, I shall wait upon his lordship, and discourse with him upon the subject of it; and I shall immediately write to you what I can collect from the conversation.

In my own opinion, the letter of the two Houses of the 29th June, proposing, as a satisfactory measure, the restoring things to the state in which they were at the conclusion of the late war, is a fair and generous offer on our part, and my discourse here is, that it is more than Britain has a right to expect from us; and that if she has any wisdom left she will embrace it, and agree with us immediately; for that the longer she delays the accommodation, which finally she must for her own sake obtain, the worse terms she may expect, since the inequality of power and importance, that at present subsists between us is daily diminishing, and our sense of our own rights, and of her injustice, continually increasing. I am the more encouraged to hold such language, by perceiving that the general sense of the nation is for us; a conviction prevailing that we have been ill used, and that a breach with us would be ruinous to this country.

[1] From "The Works of Dr. Benjamin Franklin" (Duane), 1817, Vol. VI, p. 334. — ED.

The pieces I wrote, to increase and strengthen those sentiments, were more read and talked of and attended to than usual. The first, as you will see by the inclosed, has been called for and reprinted in the same paper, besides being copied in others, and in the magazines. A long, laboured answer has been made to it, (by Governor Bernard, it is said,)[1] which I send you. I am told it does not satisfy those in whose justification it was written, and that a better is preparing. I think with you, that great difficulties must attend an attempt to make a new representation of our grievances, in which the point of right should be kept out of sight, especially as the concurrence of so many colonies seems now necessary. And therefore it would certainly be best and wisest for Parliament, (which does not meet till after the middle of January,) to make up the matter themselves, and at once reduce things to the state desired. There are not wanting some here who believe this will really be the case; for that a new election being now in view, the present members are likely to consider the composing all differences with America, as a measure agreeable to the trading and manufacturing part of the nation; and that the neglecting it may be made use of by their opponents to their disadvantage.

I have as yet received no answer to the petition for removing the governors.[2] I imagine that it will hardly be complied with, as it would embarrass government to provide for them otherwise, and it will be thought hard to neglect men, who have exposed themselves, by adhering to what is here called

[1] "Select Letters on the Trade and Government of America, and the Principles of Law and Polity applied to the American Colonies" (Sir Francis Bernard), 1773. — ED.

[2] Petition from the Legislature of Massachusetts for the removal of Governor Hutchinson and Lieutenant-Governor Oliver. — ED.

the interest and rights of this country. But this I only conjecture, as I have heard nothing certain about it. Indeed I should think continuing them in their places would be rather a punishment than a favour. For what comfort can men have in living among a people, with whom they are the object of universal odium?

I shall continue here one winter longer, and use my best endeavours, as long as I stay, for the service of our country. With great esteem, I have the honour to be, Sir, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

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710. TO AN ENGRAVER [1] (A. P. S.)

London, Nov. 3, 1773.

SIR,

I was much pleased with the Specimens you so kindly sent me of your new Art of Engraving. That on the China is admirable. No one would suppose it any thing but Painting. I hope you meet with all the Encouragement you merit, and that the invention will be, (what inventions seldom are,) profitable to the Inventor.

I know not who (now we speak of Inventions) pretends to that of Copper-Plate Engravings for Earthen-Ware, and I am not disposed to contest the Honour of it with anybody, as the Improvement in taking Impressions not directly from the Plate, but from printed Paper, applicable by that means to other than flat Forms, is far beyond my first Idea. But I have reason to apprehend I might have given the Hint, on which that Improvement was made: For more than twenty

[1] The name of the engraver is unknown. — ED.

years since, I wrote to Dr. Mitchell from America, proposing to him the printing of square Tiles for ornamenting Chimnys, from Copper Plates, describing the Manner in which I thought it might be done, and advising the Borrowing from the Bookseller the Plates, that had been used in a thin Folio, called *Moral Virtue Delineated*, for the Purpose.

As the Dutch Delph-ware Tiles were much used in America, which are only or chiefly Scripture Histories, wretchedly scrawled, I wished to have those moral Prints, (which were originally taken from Horace's poetical Figures,) introduced on Tiles, which being about our Chimneys, and constantly in the Eyes of Children when by the Fireside, might give Parents an Opportunity, in explaining them, to impress moral Sentiments; and I gave Expectations of great Demand for them if executed. Dr. Mitchell wrote to me, in answer, that he had communicated my Scheme to several of the principal Artists in the Earthen Way about London, who rejected it as impracticable. And it was not till some years after that I first saw an enamelled Snuff Box, which I was sure was from a Copper-Plate, tho' the Curvature of the Form made me wonder how the Impression was taken.

I understand the China Work in Philadelphia is declined by the first Owners. Whether any others will take it up and continue it, I know not.

Mr. Banks is at present engaged in preparing to publish the Botanical Discoveries of his Voyage. He employs 10 Engravers for the Plates, in which he is very curious, so as not to be quite satisfied in some Cases with the Expression given by either the Graver, Etching, or Metzotinto, particularly where there is a Wooliness, or a Multitude of small Points, on a Leaf. I sent him the largest of the Specimens

you sent, containing a Number of Sprigs. I have not seen him since, to know whether your Manner would not suit some of his plants better than the more common Methods. With great esteem, I am, Sir, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

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711. TO JOSEPH GALLOWAY[1]

London, Nov. 3, 1773.

SIR,

There is at present great quietness here, and no prospect that the war between the Turks and Russians will spread farther in Europe. The last harvest is allowed to have been generally plentiful in this country; and yet such was the preceding scantiness of crops, that it is thought there is no corn to spare for exportation, which continues the advantages to our corn provinces.

The Parliament is not to meet till after the middle of January. It is said there is a disposition to compose all differences with America before the next general election, as the trading and manufacturing part of the nation are generally our wellwishers, think we have been hardly used, and apprehend ill consequences from a continuance of the measures that we complain of: and that if those measures are not changed, an American interest may be spirited up at the election against the present members who are in, or friends to administration. Our steady refusal to take tea from hence for several years past has made its impressions. The scheme for supplying us without repealing the act, by

[1] From "The Works of Dr. Benjamin Franklin" (Duane), 1817, Vol. VI, p. 336. — ED.

a temporary license from the treasury to export tea to America, free of duty, you are before this time acquainted with. I much want to hear how that tea is received. If it is rejected, the act will undoubtedly be repealed, otherwise I suppose it will be continued; and when we have got into the use of the Company's tea, and the foreign correspondences that supply us at present, are broken off, the licenses will be discontinued, and the act enforced.

I apprehend the better understanding, that lately subsisted in our provincial administration will hardly be continued with the new governor; but you will soon see. I wish for the full letter you promise me by the next packet, which is now daily expected. With unalterable esteem and attachment, I am, &c. B. FRANKLIN.

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712. TO WILLIAM FRANKLIN [1]

London, Nov. 3, 1773.

DEAR SON,

I wrote you pretty fully by the last packet, and having had no line from you of later date than the beginning of August, and little stirring here lately, I have now little to write.

In that letter I mentioned my having written two papers, of which I preferred the first, but the public the last. It seems I was mistaken in judging of the public opinion; for the first was reprinted some weeks after in the same paper, the printer giving for reason, that he did it in compliance with the earnest request of many private persons, and some

[1] From "The Works of Dr. Benjamin Franklin" (Duane), 1817, Vol. VI, p. 337. — ED.

respectable societies; which is the more extraordinary, as it had been copied in several other papers, and in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. Such papers may seem to have a tendency to increase our divisions; but I intend a contrary effect, and hope by comprising in little room, and setting in a strong light the grievances of the colonies, more attention will be paid to them by our administration, and that when their unreasonableness is generally seen, some of them will be removed to the restoration of harmony between us.

B. FRANKLIN.

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713. TO WILLIAM BROWNRIGG [1]

London, November 7, 1773

DEAR SIR,

I thank you for the remarks of your learned friend [2] at Carlisle. I had, when a youth, read and smiled at Pliny's account of a practice among the seamen of his time, to still the waves in a storm by pouring oil into the sea; which he mentions, as well as the use made of oil by the divers; but the stilling a tempest by throwing vinegar into the air had escaped me. I think with your friend, that it has been of late too much the mode to slight the learning of the ancients. The learned, too, are apt to slight too much the knowledge

[1] William Brownrigg (1711–1800), physician and chemist, born at High Close Hall, Cumberland, and died at Ormathwaite, near Keswick. This letter was read before the Royal Society, June 2, 1774, and published in *Philosophical Transactions*, LXIV, 445. — ED.

[2] Rev. Mr. Farish who, in a letter to Dr. Brownrigg, quoted freely from Pliny. Mr. Farish was the father of William Farish (1759–1837), Jacksonian Professor of natural and experimental philosophy, at Cambridge University. — ED.

of the vulgar. The cooling by evaporation was long an instance of the latter. This art of smoothing the waves by oil is an instance of both.

Perhaps you may not dislike to have an account of all I have heard, and learnt, and done in this way. Take it if you please as follows.

In 1757, being at sea in a fleet of ninety-six sail bound against Louisbourg, I observed the wakes of two of the ships to be remarkably smooth, while all the others were ruffled by the wind, which blew fresh. Being puzzled with the differing appearance, I at last pointed it out to our captain, and asked him the meaning of it. "The cooks," says he, "have, I suppose, been just emptying their greasy water through the scuppers, which has greased the sides of those ships a little;" and this answer he gave me with an air of some little contempt, as to a person ignorant of what everybody else knew. In my own mind I at first slighted his solution, though I was not able to think of another; but recollecting what I had formerly read in Pliny, I resolved to make some experiment of the effect of oil on water, when I should have opportunity.

Afterwards being again at sea in 1762, I first observed the wonderful quietness of oil on agitated water, in the swinging glass lamp I made to hang up in the cabin, as described in my printed papers.[1] This I was continually looking at and considering, as an appearance to me inexplicable. An old sea captain, then a passenger with me, thought little of it, supposing it an effect of the same kind with that of oil put on water to smooth it, which he said was a practice of the Bermudians when they would strike fish,

[1] See letter to Dr. John Pringle, dated December 1, 1762. — ED.

which they could not see, if the surface of the water was ruffled by the wind. This practice I had never before heard of, and was obliged to him for the information; though I thought him mistaken as to the sameness of the experiment, the operations being different as well as the effects. In one case, the water is smooth till the oil is put on, and then becomes agitated. In the other it is agitated before the oil is applied, and then becomes smooth. The same gentleman told me, he had heard it was a practice with the fishermen of Lisbon when about to return into the river (if they saw before them too great a surf upon the bar, which they apprehended might fill their boats in passing) to empty a bottle or two of oil into the sea, which would suppress the breakers, and allow them to pass safely. A confirmation of this I have not since had an opportunity of obtaining; but discoursing of it with another person, who had often been in the Mediterranean, I was informed, that the divers there, who, when under water in their business, need light, which the curling of the surface interrupts by the refractions of so many little waves, let a small quantity of oil now and then out of their mouths, which rising to the surface smooths it, and permits the light to come down to them. All these informations I at times revolved in my mind, and wondered to find no mention of them in our books of experimental philosophy.

At length being at Clapham, where there is, on the common, a large pond, which I observed one day to be very rough with the wind, I fetched out a cruet of oil, and dropped a little of it on the water. I saw it spread itself with surprising swiftness upon the surface; but the effect of smoothing the waves was not produced; for I had applied it first

on the leeward side of the pond, where the waves were largest, and the wind drove my oil back upon the shore. I then went to the windward side where they began to form; and there the oil, though not more than a tea spoonful, produced an instant calm over a space several yards square, which spread amazingly, and extended itself gradually till it reached the lee side, making all that quarter of the pond, perhaps half an acre, as smooth as a looking-glass.

After this I contrived to take with me, whenever I went into the country, a little oil in the upper hollow joint of my bamboo cane, with which I might repeat the experiment as opportunity should offer, and I found it constantly to succeed.

In these experiments, one circumstance struck me with particular surprise. This was the sudden, wide, and forcible spreading of a drop of oil on the face of the water, which I do not know that anybody has hitherto considered. If a drop of oil is put on a highly polished marble table, or on a looking-glass that lies horizontally, the drop remains in its place, spreading very little. But, when put on water, it spreads instantly, many feet round, becoming so thin as to produce the prismatic colors, for a considerable space, and beyond them so much thinner as to be invisible, except in its effect of smoothing the waves at a much greater distance. It seems as if a mutual repulsion between its particles took place as soon as it touched the water, and a repulsion so strong as to act on other bodies swimming on the surface, as straw, leaves, chips, &c. forcing them to recede every way from the drop, as from a centre, leaving a large, clear space. The quantity of this force, and the distance to which it will operate, I have not yet ascertained; but I think it a curious inquiry, and I wish to understand whence it arises.

In our journey to the North, when we had the pleasure of seeing you at Ormathwaite, we visited the celebrated Mr. Smeaton,[1] near Leeds. Being about to show him the smoothing experiment on a little pond near his house, an ingenious pupil of his, Mr. Jessop, then present, told us of an odd appearance on that pond, which had lately occurred to him. He was about to clean a little cup in which he kept oil, and he threw upon the water some flies that had been drowned in the oil. These flies presently began to move, and turned round on the water very rapidly, as if they were vigorously alive, though on examination he found they were not so. I immediately concluded that the motion was occasioned by the power of the repulsion above mentioned, and that the oil issuing gradually from the spungy body of the fly continued the motion. He found some more flies drowned in oil, with which the experiment was repeated before us. To show that it was not any effect of life recovered by the flies, I imitated it by little bits of oiled chips and paper, cut in the form of a comma, of the size of a common fly; when the stream of repelling particles issuing from the point made the comma turn round the contrary way. This is not a chamber experiment; for it cannot be well repeated in a bowl or dish of water on a table. A considerable surface of water is necessary to give room for the expansion of a small quantity of oil. In a dish of water, if the smallest drop of oil be let fall in the middle, the whole surface is presently covered with a thin greasy film proceeding from the drop; but as soon as that film has reached the sides of the dish, no more will issue from the drop, but it remains in the form of oil, the sides of

[1] John Smeaton (1724–1792), civil engineer, builder of the Eddystone lighthouse. — Ed.

the dish putting a stop to its dissipation by prohibiting the farther expansion of the film.

Our friend Sir John Pringle, being soon after in Scotland, learned there, that those employed in the herring fishery could at a distance see where the shoals of herrings were, by the smoothness of the water over them, which might possibly be occasioned, he thought, by some oiliness proceeding from their bodies.

A gentleman from Rhode Island told me, it had been remarked, that the harbour of Newport was ever smooth while any whaling vessels were in it; which probably arose from hence, that the blubber which they sometimes bring loose in the hold, or the leakage of their barrels, might afford some oil, to mix with that water, which from time to time they pump out, to keep their vessel free, and that some oil might spread over the surface of the water in the harbour, and prevent the forming of any waves.

This prevention I would thus endeavour to explain.

There seems to be no natural repulsion between water and air, such as to keep them from coming into contact with each other. Hence we find a quantity of air in water; and if we extract it by means of the air-pump, the same water, again exposed to the air, will soon imbibe an equal quantity.

Therefore air in motion, which is wind, in passing over the smooth surface of water, may rub, as it were, upon that surface, and raise it into wrinkles, which, if the wind continues, are the elements of future waves.

The smallest wave once raised does not immediately subside, and leave the neighbouring water quiet; but in subsiding raises nearly as much of the water next to it, the friction of the parts making little difference. Thus a stone

dropped in a pool raises first a single wave round itself; and leaves it, by sinking to the bottom; but that first wave subsiding raises a second, a second a third, and so on in circles to a great extent.

A small power continually operating will produce a great action. A finger applied to a weighty suspended bell can at first move it but little; if repeatedly applied, though with no greater strength, the motion increases till the bell swings to its utmost height, and with a force that cannot be resisted by the whole strength of the arm and body. Thus the small first-raised waves, being continually acted upon by the wind, are, though the wind does not increase in strength, continually increased in magnitude, rising higher and extending their basis, so as to include a vast mass of water in each wave, which in its motion acts with great violence.

But if there be a mutual repulsion between the particles of oil, and no attraction between oil and water, oil dropped on water will not be held together by adhesion to the spot whereon it falls; it will not be imbibed by the water; it will be at liberty to expand itself; and it will spread on a surface, that besides being smooth to the most perfect degree of polish, prevents, perhaps by repelling the oil, all immediate contact, keeping it at a minute distance from itself; and the expansion will continue till the mutual repulsion between the particles of the oil is weakened and reduced to nothing by their distance.

Now I imagine that the wind, blowing over water thus covered with a film of oil, cannot easily *catch* upon it, so as to raise the first wrinkles, but slides over it, and leaves it smooth as it finds it. It moves a little the oil indeed, which being between it and the water, serves it to slide with, and

prevents friction, as oil does between those parts of a machine, that would otherwise rub hard together. Hence the oil dropped on the windward side of a pond proceeds gradually to leeward, as may be seen by the smoothness it carries with it, quite to the opposite side. For the wind being thus prevented from raising the first wrinkles, that I call the elements of waves, cannot produce waves, which are to be made by continually acting upon, and enlarging those elements, and thus the whole pond is calmed.

Totally therefore we might suppress the waves in any required place, if we could come at the windward place where they take their rise. This in the ocean can seldom if ever be done. But perhaps something may be done on particular occasions, to moderate the violence of the waves when we are in the midst of them, and prevent their breaking where that would be inconvenient.

For, when the wind blows fresh, there are continually rising on the back of every great wave a number of small ones, which roughen its surface, and give the wind hold, as it were, to push it with greater force. This hold is diminished, by preventing the generation of those small ones. And possibly too, when a wave's surface is oiled, the wind, in passing over it, may rather in some degree press it down, and contribute to prevent its rising again, instead of promoting it.

This, as mere conjecture, would have little weight, if the apparent effects of pouring oil into the midst of waves were not considerable, and as yet not otherwise accounted for.

When the wind blows so fresh, as that the waves are not sufficiently quick in obeying its impulse, their tops being thinner and lighter are pushed forward, broken, and turned

over in a white foam. Common waves lift a vessel without entering it; but these when large sometimes break above and pour over it, doing great damage.

That this effect might in any degree be prevented, or the height and violence of waves in the sea moderated, we had no certain account; Pliny's authority for the practice of seamen in his time being slighted. But discoursing lately on this subject with his Excellency Count Bentinck, of Holland, his son the Honourable Captain Bentinck, and the learned Professor Allemand, (to all whom I showed the experiment of smoothing in a windy day the large piece of water at the head of the Green Park,) a letter was mentioned, which had been received by the Count from Batavia, relative to the saving of a Dutch ship in a storm by pouring oil into the sea. I much desired to see that letter, and a copy of it was promised me, which I afterward received.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Tengnagel to Count Bentinck, dated at Batavia, 5 January, 1770.

"Near the islands Paul and Amsterdam, we met with a storm, which had nothing particular in it worthy of being communicated to you, except that the captain found himself obliged for greater safety in wearing the ship, to pour oil into the sea, to prevent the waves breaking over her, which had an excellent effect, and succeeded in preserving us. As he poured out but a little at a time, the East India Company owes perhaps its ship to only six demi-ames of oil-olive. I was present upon deck when this was done; and I should not have mentioned this circumstance to you, but that we have found people here so prejudiced against the experiment,

as to make it necessary for the officers on board and myself to give a certificate of the truth on this head, of which we made no difficulty."

On this occasion, I mentioned to Captain Bentinck a thought which had occurred to me in reading the voyages of our late circumnavigators, particularly where accounts are given of pleasant and fertile islands which they much desired to land upon, when sickness made it more necessary, but could not effect a landing through a violent surf breaking on the shore, which rendered it impracticable. My idea was, that possibly by sailing to and fro at some distance from such lee-shore, continually pouring oil into the sea, the waves might be so much depressed, and lessened before they reached the shore, as to abate the height and violence of the surf, and permit a landing; which, in such circumstances, was a point of sufficient importance to justify the expense of the oil that might be requisite for the purpose. That gentleman, who is ever ready to promote what may be of public utility, though his own ingenious inventions have not always met with the countenance they merited, was so obliging as to invite me to Portsmouth, where an opportunity would probably offer, in the course of a few days, of making the experiment on some of the shores about Spithead, in which he kindly proposed to accompany me, and to give assistance with such boats as might be necessary. Accordingly, about the middle of October last, I went with some friends to Portsmouth; and a day of wind happening, which made a lee-shore between Haslar hospital and the point near Jillkecker, we went from the Centaur with the longboat and barge towards that shore. Our disposition was this; the long-boat

was anchored about a quarter of a mile from the shore; part of the company were landed behind the point (a place more sheltered from the sea) who came round and placed themselves opposite to the longboat, where they might observe the surf, and note if any change occurred in it upon using the oil. Another party, in the barge, plied to windward of the longboat, as far from her as she was from the shore, making trips of about half a mile each, pouring oil continually out of a large stone bottle, through a hole in the cork, somewhat bigger than a goose-quill. The experiment had not, in the main point, the success we wished, for no material difference was observed in the height or force of the surf upon the shore; but those who were in the longboat could observe a tract of smoothed water, the whole of the distance in which the barge poured the oil, and gradually spreading in breadth towards the long-boat. I call it smoothed, not that it was laid level; but because, though the swell continued, its surface was not roughened by the wrinkles, or smaller waves, before mentioned; and none or very few white caps (or waves whose tops turn over in foam) appeared in that whole space, though to windward and leeward of it there were plenty; and a wherry, that came round the point under sail, in her way to Portsmouth, seemed to turn into that tract of choice, and to use it from end to end, as a piece of turnpike road.

It may be of use to relate the circumstances of an experiment that does not succeed, since they may give hints of amendment in future trials; it is therefore I have been thus particular. I shall only add what I apprehend may have been the reason of our disappointment.

I conceive, that the operation of oil on water is, first, to

prevent the raising of new waves by the wind; and, secondly, to prevent its pushing those before raised with such force, and consequently their continuance of the same repeated height, as they would have done, if their surface were not oiled. But oil will not prevent waves being raised by another power, by a stone, for instance, falling into a still pool; for they then rise by the mechanical impulse of the stone, which the greasiness on the surrounding water cannot lessen or prevent, as it can prevent the winds catching the surface and raising it into waves. Now waves once raised, whether by the wind or any other power, have the same mechanical operation, by which they continue to rise and fall, as a *pendulum* will continue to swing a long time after the force ceases to act by which the motion was first produced; that motion will, however, cease in time; but time is necessary. Therefore, though oil spread on an agitated sea may weaken the push of the wind on those waves whose surfaces are covered by it, and so, by receiving less fresh impulse, they may gradually subside; yet a considerable time, or a distance through which they will take time to move, may be necessary to make the effect sensible on any shore in a diminution of the surf; for we know, that, when wind ceases suddenly, the waves it has raised do not as suddenly subside, but settle gradually, and are not quite down till after the wind has ceased. So, though we should, by oiling them, take off the effect of wind on waves already raised, it is not to be expected that those waves should be instantly levelled. The motion they have received will, for some time, continue; and, if the shore is not far distant, they arrive there so soon, that their effect upon it will not be visibly diminished. Possibly, therefore, if we had begun our operations at a greater

distance, the effect might have been more sensible. And perhaps we did not pour oil in sufficient quantity. Future experiments may determine this.

I was, however, greatly obliged to Captain Bentinck, for the cheerful and ready aids he gave me; and I ought not to omit mentioning Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, General Carnoc, and Dr. Blagden, who all assisted at the experiment, during that blustering, unpleasant day, with a patience and activity that could only be inspired by a zeal for the improvement of knowledge, such especially as might possibly be of use to men in situations of distress.

I would wish you to communicate this to your ingenious friend, Mr. Farish, with my respects; and believe me to be, with sincere esteem, dear Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

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714. PREFACE TO "AN ABRIDGMENT OF THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER"[1]

The editor of the following abridgment of the Liturgy of the Church of England thinks it but decent and respectful to all, more particularly to the reverend body of clergy, who

[1] The book was entitled: "Abridgment of the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the Use of the Church of England; together with the Psalter or Psalms of David, pointed as they are to be sung or said in the Churches. London. Printed in the Year MDCCLXXIII."

The noble lord associated in the preparation of this abridgment was Lord Le Despencer, with whom, during the summer of 1773, Franklin passed some time at his country residence. The "preface" exists in MS. in an incomplete draft in A. P. S. The part found in the draft is enclosed here in brackets. — ED.

adorn the Protestant religion by their good works, preaching, and example, that he should humbly offer some reason for such an undertaking. He addresses himself to the serious and discerning. He professes himself to be a Protestant of the Church of England, and holds in the highest veneration the doctrines of Jesus Christ. He is a sincere lover of social worship, deeply sensible of its usefulness to society; and he aims at doing some service to religion, by proposing such abbreviations and omissions in the forms of our Liturgy (retaining everything he thinks essential) as might, if adopted, procure a more general attendance. For, besides the differing sentiments of many pious and well-disposed persons in some speculative points, who in general have a good opinion of our Church, it has often been observed and complained of, that the Morning and Evening Service, as practised in England and elsewhere, are so long, and filled with so many repetitions, that the continued attention suitable to so serious a duty becomes impracticable, the mind wanders, and the fervency of devotion is slackened. Also the propriety of saying the same prayer more than once in the same service is doubted, as the service is thereby lengthened without apparent necessity; our Lord having given us a short prayer as an example, and censured the heathen for thinking to be heard because of much speaking.

Moreover, many pious and devout persons, whose age or infirmities will not suffer them to remain for hours in a cold church, especially in the winter season, are obliged to forego the comfort and edification they would receive by their attendance at divine service. These, by shortening the time, would be relieved, and the younger sort, who have had some principles of religion instilled into them, and who have been

educated in a belief of the necessity of adoring their Maker, would probably more frequently, as well as cheerfully, attend divine service, if they were not detained so long at any one time. Also many well disposed tradesmen, shopkeepers, artificers, and others, whose habitations are not remote from churches, could, and would, more frequently at least, find [time to attend divine service on other than Sundays, if the prayers were reduced to a much narrower compass.

Formerly there were three services performed at different times of the day, which three services are now usually joined in one. This may suit the convenience of the person who officiates, but it is too often inconvenient and tiresome to the congregation. If this abridgment, therefore, should ever meet with acceptance, the well-disposed clergy who are laudably desirous to encourage the *frequency* of divine service, may promote so great and good a purpose by repeating it three times on a Sunday, without so much fatigue to themselves as at present. Suppose, at nine o'clock, at eleven, and at one in the evening; and by preaching no more sermons than usual of a moderate length; and thereby accommodate a greater number of people with convenient hours.

These were general reasons for wishing and proposing an abridgment. In attempting it we do not presume to dictate even to a single Christian. We are sensible there is a proper authority in the rulers of the Church for ordering such matters; and whenever the time shall come when it may be thought not unreasonable to revise our Liturgy, there is no doubt but every suitable improvement will be made, under the care and direction of so much learning, wisdom, and piety, in one body of men collected. Such a work as this must then be much better executed. In the meantime

this humble performance may serve to show the practicability of shortening the service near one half, without the omission of what is essentially necessary; and we hope, moreover, that the book may be occasionally of some use to families, or private assemblies of Christians.

To give now some account of particulars. We have presumed upon this plan of abridgment to omit the First Lesson, which is taken from the Old Testament, and retain only the Second from the New Testament, which, we apprehend, is more suitable to teach the so-much-to-be-revered doctrine of Christ, and of more immediate importance to Christians;] although the Old Testament is allowed by all to be an accurate and concise history, and, as such, may more properly be read at home.

[We do not conceive it necessary for Christians to make use of more than one creed. Therefore, in this abridgment are omitted the Nicene Creed and that of St. Athanasius. Of the Apostle's Creed we have retained the parts that are most intelligible and most essential. And as the *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghost* are there confessedly and avowedly a part of the belief, it does not appear necessary, after so solemn a confession, to repeat again, in the Litany, the *Son* and *Holy Ghost*, as that part of the service is otherwise very prolix.

The Psalms being a collection of odes written by different persons, it hath happened that many of them are on the same subjects and repeat the same sentiments — such as those that complain of enemies and persecutors, call upon God for protection, express a confidence therein, and thank him for it when afforded. A very great part of the book consists of repetitions of this kind, which may therefore well bear abridgment. Other parts are merely historical, repeating

the mention of facts more fully narrated in the preceding books, and which, relating to the ancestors of the Jews, were more interesting to them than to us. Other parts are *local*, and allude to places of which we have no knowledge, and therefore do not affect us. Others are *personal*, relating to the particular circumstances of David or Solomon, as kings, and can therefore seldom be rehearsed with any propriety by private Christians. Others imprecate, in the most bitter terms, the vengeance of God on our adversaries, contrary to the spirit of Christianity, which commands us to love our enemies, and to pray for those that hate us and despitefully use us. For these reasons it is to be wished that the same liberty were by the governors of our Church allowed to the minister with regard to the *reading Psalms*, as is taken by the clerk with regard to those that are to be sung, in directing the parts that he may judge most suitable to be read at the time, from the present circumstances of the congregation, or the tenor of his sermon, by saying, "Let us *read*" such and such parts of the Psalms named. Until this is done our abridgment, it is hoped, will be found to contain what may be most generally proper to be joined in by an assembly of Christian people. The Psalms are still apportioned to the days of the month, as heretofore, though the several parts for each day are generally a full third shorter.

We humbly suppose the same service contained in this abridgment might properly serve for all the saints' days, fasts, and feasts, reading only the Epistle and Gospel appropriated to each day of the month.

The Communion is greatly abridged, on account of its great length; nevertheless, it is hoped and believed that all those parts are retained which are material and necessary.

Infant Baptism in Churches being performed during divine service, would greatly add to the length of that service, if it were not abridged. We have ventured, therefore, to leave out the less material parts.

The Catechism, as a compendium of systematic theology, which learned divines have written folio volumes to explain, and which, therefore, it may be presumed, they thought scarce intelligible without such expositions, is, perhaps, taken altogether, not so well adapted to the capacities of children as might be wished. Only those plain answers, therefore, which express our duty towards God, and our duty towards our neighbor, are retained here. The rest is recommended to their reading and serious consideration, when more years shall have ripened their understanding.]

The Confirmation is here shortened.

The Commination, and all cursing of mankind, is, we think, best omitted in this abridgment.

The form of solemnization of Matrimony is often abbreviated by the officiating minister at his discretion. We have selected what appears to us the material parts, and which we humbly hope, will be deemed sufficient.

The long prayers in the service for the Visitation of the Sick seem not so proper, when the afflicted person is very weak and in distress.

The Order for the Burial of the Dead is very solemn and moving; nevertheless, to preserve the health and lives of the living, it appeared to us that this service ought particularly to be shortened. For numbers standing in the open air with their hats off, often in tempestuous weather, during the celebration, its great length is not only inconvenient, but may be dangerous to the attendants. We hope, therefore, that

our abridgment of it will be approved by the rational and prudent.

The Thanksgiving of women after childbirth being, when read, part of the service of the day, we have also, in some measure, abridged that.

Having thus stated very briefly our motives and reasons, and our manner of proceeding in the prosecution of this work, we hope to be believed, when we declare the rectitude of our intentions. We mean not to lessen or prevent the practice of religion, but to honour and promote it. We acknowledge the excellency of our present Liturgy, and, though we have shortened it, we have not presumed to alter a word in the remaining text; not even to substitute *who* for *which* in the Lord's Prayer, and elsewhere, although it would be more correct. We respect the characters of bishops and other dignitaries of our Church, and, with regard to the inferior clergy we wish that they were more equally provided for, than by that odious and vexatious as well as unjust method of gathering tithes in kind, which creates animosities and litigations, to the interruption of the good harmony and respect which might otherwise subsist between the rectors and their parishioners.

And thus, conscious of upright meaning, we submit this abridgment to the serious consideration of the prudent and dispassionate, and not to enthusiasts and bigots; being convinced in our own breasts, that this shortened method, or one of the same kind better executed, would further religion, increase unanimity, and occasion a more frequent attendance on the worship of God.

715. TO THOMAS CUSHING[1]

London, Jan. 5, 1774.

SIR,

I received the honour of yours dated October 28, with the Journals of the House and Mr. Turner's election sermon. I waited on Lord Dartmouth on his return to town, and learnt that he had presented to his majesty our petition for the removal of the governors. No subsequent step had yet been taken upon it: but his Lordship said the king would probably refer the consideration of it to a committee of council, and that I should have notice to be heard in support of it. By the turn of his conversation, though he was not explicit, I apprehend the petition is not likely to be complied with: but we shall see. His lordship expressed as usual much concern at the differences subsisting, and wished they would be accommodated. Perhaps his good wishes are all that is in his power.

The famous letters having unfortunately engaged Mr. Temple and Mr. Wheatly in a duel, which being interrupted would probably be renewed, I thought it incumbent on me to prevent, as far as I could, any farther mischief, by declaring publicly the part I had in the affair of those letters, and thereby at the same time to rescue Mr. Temple's character from an undeserved and groundless imputation, that bore hard upon his honour, viz. that of taking the letters from Mr. Wheatly, and in breach of confidence. I did this with the more pleasure, as I believe him a sincere friend to our country. I am

[1] From "The Works of Dr. Benjamin Franklin" (Duane), 1817, Vol. VI, p. 338. — ED.

told by some that it was imprudent in me to avow the obtaining and sending those letters, for that administration will resent it. I have not much apprehension of this, but if it happens, I must take the consequences. I only hope it will not affect any friend on your side of the water, for I have never mentioned *to whom* they were transmitted.

A letter of mine to you, printed in one of the Boston papers, has lately been reprinted here, to show, as the publisher expresses it, that I am "*one of the most determined enemies* of the welfare and prosperity of Great Britain." In the opinion of some, every one who wishes the good of the *whole empire* may nevertheless be an enemy to *the welfare of Great Britain*, if he does not wish its good *exclusively* of every other *part*, and to see its welfare built on their servitude and wretchedness. Such an enemy I certainly am. But methinks it is wrong to print letters of mine at Boston, which give occasion to these reflections.

I shall continue to do all I possibly can this winter towards an accommodation of our differences; but my hopes are small. Divine Providence first infatuates the power it designs to ruin. With great esteem and respect, I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

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716. TO WILLIAM FRANKLIN[1]

London, Jan. 5, 1774.

DEAR SON,

I received yours of October 29, and November 2. Your December packet is not yet arrived.

[1] From "The Works of Dr. Benjamin Franklin" (Duane), 1817, Vol. VI, p. 339. — ED.

No insinuations of the kind you mention, concerning Mr. G,——[1] have reached me, and, if they had, it would have been without the least effect; as I have always had the strongest reliance on the steadiness of his friendship, and on the best grounds, the knowledge I have of his integrity, and the often repeated disinterested services he has rendered me. My return will interfere with nobody's interest or influence in public affairs, as my intention is to decline all interest in them, and every active part, except where it can serve a friend, and to content myself with communicating the knowledge of them which my situation may have furnished me with, and be content with giving my advice for the public benefit, where it may be asked, or where I shall think it may be attended to; for being now about entering my sixty-ninth year, and having lived so great a part of my life to the public, it seems but fair that I should be allowed to live the small remainder to myself and to my friends.

If the honourable office you mention will be agreeable to him, I heartily wish it him. I only hope, that, if offered to him, he will insist on its being not during pleasure, but *quamdiu se bene gesserit.*

Our friend Temple, as you will see by the papers, has been engaged in a duel, about an affair in which he had no concern. As the combat was interrupted, and understood to be unfinished, I thought it incumbent on me to do what I could for preventing further mischief, and so declared my having transmitted the letters in question. This has drawn some censure upon myself, but as I grow old, I grow less concerned about censure, when I am satisfied that I act rightly; and I have the pleasure of having exculpated a friend, who lay undeservedly under an imputation much to his dishonour.

[1] Joseph Galloway. — Ed.

I am now seriously preparing for my departure to America. I purpose sending my luggage, books, instruments, &c., by All or Falconer, and taking my passage to New York in one of the spring or summer packets, partly for settling some business with the Postoffice there, and partly that I may see you on my way to Philadelphia, and learn thereby more perfectly the state of affairs there. Your affectionate father,

B. FRANKLIN.

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717. TO SAMUEL RHOADS (P. H. S.)

London, Jan. 5. 1774.

DEAR FRIEND,

I received your Favours of Oct. 29 and 31, inclosing the Votes, for which I thank you.

I am much obliged to the Assembly for the repeated Marks of their Confidence in me. The Great Officers of State having generally been in the Country, no public Business of consequence has been for some time transacted here. But the Parliament meets next Week, when all will return again to their Stations and the Duty of their Offices, and the Boards resume Business. — I do not find that your Laws of last Winter have yet been presented, and the time is now near for carrying your Paper money Act into Execution. At present I do not see any Difficulty likely to arise upon it, on the Part of the Board of Trade, unless one should be started on the ———, there being no mention of the Value or kind of the Money to be struck, whether Sterling or Proclamations, or any other. But it being an Act of Pennsylvania, I suppose it is to be understood that the Money will be of the Value of the present Currency of that Province. — Virginia has lately had a Quantity of Copper Halfpence struck at the

Mint here for their Province. Inclos'd I send you a Specimen of theirs. They may serve to keep out the worthless counterfeit Trash of late so common.

With great Esteem & Respect, I am ever

Dear Friend

Yours most affectionately

B. FRANKLIN.

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718. TO WILLIAM FRANKLIN (B. M.)

London, February 2, 1774.

DEAR SON: — This Line is just to acquaint you that I am well, and that my Office of Deputy-Postmaster is taken from me. As there is no Prospect of your being ever promoted to a better Government, and that you hold has never defray'd its Expenses, I wish you were well settled in your farm. 'Tis an honester and a more honourable, because a more independent Employment. You will hear from others the Treatment I have receiv'd. I leave you to your own Reflections and Determinations upon it, and remain ever your affectionate Father,

B. FRANKLIN.

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719. FROM THOMAS CUSHING AND OTHERS, COMMITTEE, ETC. (L. C.)

Boston, December 21st, 1773.

SIR: — It has been the Expectation of many of the Colonists that the last Session of Parliament would have put a final end to those Grievances under which they had so long been oppressed, and against which they had so long in vain Remonstrated. They expected that the Revenue Acts would have been repealed and that they should no more have had reason to complain of

the Unconstitutional exertions of Parliamentary Power; they were naturally led to form these expectations from the Conduct of Administration, who lately encouraged them with assurances that if all things remained quiet in America, these unhappy dissentions would soon terminate in a lasting Union: but how, sir, were they surprized to find they had been deceived; to find that the Parliament, at the very time they expected relief, pursued new measures for effectually securing and inhancing the oppressive Revenues, and with this View, by an Act passed the last Session, impowered the East India Company to Ship their Teas to America. From this Act they readily saw that they had nothing to hope from the favour of administration, but that they rather discovered an indisposition that the Parliament should grant them any relief. They considered the act as introductive to monopolies, which, besides the train of Evils that attend them in a Commercial View, are forever dangerous to Publick Liberty, more especially under the direction and Influence of Government. They also looked upon it pregnant with new Grievances, paving the way to further Impositions, and in its Consequences threatning the final destruction of American Liberties. Thrown by this Idea into State of Desperation, the United Voice of the People, not only in this Province, but in New York and Pensylvania, and as far as we can learn in all the Colonies, was, that they would never suffer the Tea to be landed, but would prefer any species of hazard and danger to a tame submission to measures which, if pursued, must reduce them to a state of abject Slavery. Administration could not have invented a method so effectual for raising the Spirit of the Colonies, or promoting among them an entire union of Sentiment. At the same time People on your side the Water have for several months been repeatedly Informing our Merchants of this manouver and advising them, as they regarded their Sacred Rights, to withstand the landing of the Teas by the most vigorous opposition.

While the minds of the People were impressed with these Sentiments the Vessels arrived with the Teas, consigned to Messrs. Richard Clark & Sons, Thomas and Elisha Hutchinson, Benjamin Faneuil and Joshua Winslow, Esqrs. Previous to this the Town of Boston had several meetings, in order to Induce the Consignees to resign their Trust, but to no purpose, and immediately upon the arrival of the Vessels aforesaid, that every measure possible might be taken to prevent Confusion and disorder, while the minds of all were in great agitation the People in this and many of the neighboring Towns assembled in the Old South Meeting House (Faneuil Hall not being capacious enough to contain the People that attended), to prevail with the Consignees to send back the Teas, and if possible to preserve it from that Destruction which the resentment of the People might justly lead them to expect. You will see by the inclosed papers the measures they took and the Resolves they passed, and will wonder, perhaps, that these resolves and measures were in vain. They not only treated with the Consignees, but with the owners and masters of these Vessels, but all without success. Despairing

to effectuate any method of accommodation, after having tried all that could be devised to no purpose, they Dissolved the meeting, which, agreable to their constant and declared design, had protected the Teas from destruction. Nigh twenty days were now passed since the arrival of one of the Tea Vessels, commanded by Capt. Hall, at which time, according to Act of Parliament, it was in the Power of the Custom-House Officers to take the Teas into their own possession in order to secure the duties. There were just grounds to think that they intended to do it the minute the Twenty days were expired, and that they would attempt to Land them by force and overbear any opposition that might be made by a second Effusion of Blood. Under these apprehensions the Teas, the Evening of the 16th Instant, were destroyed by a number of Persons unknown and in disguise. Such was the obstinacy of the Consignees, their Advisers and Coadjutors, such their Aversion to all Conciliating Measures, that they are almost universally condemned, and some even of the Court party among us acknowledge that the destruction of the Teas must be imputed to these obstinate enemies of our Liberties, who never would consent to any method proposed for its preservation, and who perhaps wished to irritate and inflame the minds of an injured, oppressed People to measures of violence, of which afterwards they hoped to make their own advantages.

The House of Representatives, at the last Session, appointed us a Committee to write to their Agent. In pursuance of this appointment we have given you this Information of the present state of our affairs, and doubt not you will make such an Improvement of this intelligence as shall be most for the Interest of this province in particular, and of the Colonies in general.

We are, with respect, your most humble Servants

THOMAS CUSHING,
SAM'L ADAMS,
JOHN HANCOCK,
WM. PHILLIPS.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, ESQ.

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720. TO THOMAS CUSHING, AND OTHERS (L. L.)

London, Feb. 2. 1774.

GENTLEMEN,

I received the Honour of your Letter dated Decr 21. containing a distinct Account of the Proceedings at Boston relative to the Tea imported there, and of the Circumstances

that occasioned its Destruction. I communicated the same to Lord Dartmouth, with some other Advices of the same Import. It is yet unknown what Measures will be taken here on the Occasion; but the Clamour against the Proceeding is high and general. I am truly concern'd as I believe all considerate Men are with you, that there should seem to any a Necessity for carrying Matters to such Extremity, as, in a Dispute about Publick Rights, to destroy private Property. This (notwithstanding the Blame justly due to those who obstructed the Return of the Tea) it is impossible to justify with People so prejudiced in favour of the Power of Parliament to tax America, as most are in this Country. — As the India Company however are not our Adversaries, and the offensive Measure of sending their Teas did not take its Rise with them, but was an Expedient of the Ministry to serve them and yet avoid a Repeal of the old Act, I cannot but wish & hope that before any compulsive Measures are thought of here, our General Court will have shewn a Disposition to repair the Damage and make Compensation to the Company. This all our Friends here wish with me; and that if War is finally to be made upon us, which some threaten, an Act of violent Injustice on our part, unrectified may not give a colourable Pretence for it. A speedy Reparation will immediately set us right in the Opinion of all Europe. And tho' the mischief was the Act of Persons unknown, yet as probably they cannot be found or brought to answer for it, there seems to be some reasonable Claim on the Society at large in which it happened. Making voluntarily such Reparation can be no Dishonour to us or Prejudice to our Claim of Rights, since Parliament here has frequently considered in the same Light similar Cases; and only a few Years since, when a

valuable Saw-mill, which had been erected at a great Expence was violently destroyed by a Number of Persons supposed to be Sawyers, but unknown, a Grant was made out of the Publick Treasury of Two Thousand Pounds to the owner as a Compensation. — I hope in thus freely (and perhaps too forwardly) expressing my Sentiments & Wishes, I shall not give Offence to any. I am sure I mean well; being ever with sincere Affection to my native Country, and great Respect to the Assembly and yourselves,

Gentlemen,
Your most obedient and
most humble Servant
B. FRANKLIN.

Honble Thomas Cushing
Saml Adams
John Hancock
William Phillips
} Esquires

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721. TO JOSIAH TUCKER[1] (L. C.)

London, Feb. 12, 1774.

REVEREND SIR,

Being informed by a Friend, that some severe Strictures on my Conduct and Character had appeared in a new Book published under your respectable Name, I purchased and read it. After thanking you for those Parts of it that are so instructive on Points of great Importance to the common Interests of Mankind, permit me to complain, that, if by the

[1] Josiah Tucker (1712–1799), Dean of Gloucester, wrote several pamphlets upon the American troubles in which he maintained that a separation from the colonies was desirable. — ED.

Description you give in pages 180, 181, of a certain American Patriot, whom you say you need not name, you do, as is supposed, mean myself, nothing can be further from the Truth than your assertion, that I applied or used any interest, directly or indirectly, to be appointed one of the stamp Officers for America. I certainly never expressed a Wish of the kind to any Person whatever; much less was I, as you say, "more than ordinary assiduous on this Head." I have heretofore seen in the Newspapers Insinuations of the same Import, naming me expressly; but, being without the name of the Writer, I took no Notice of them.

I know not whether they were yours, or were only your Authority for your present charge; but now they have the Weight of your name and dignified Character, I am more sensible of the Injury; and I beg leave to request, that you will reconsider the Grounds on which you have ventured to publish an Accusation, that, if believed, must prejudice me extremely in the opinion of good men, especially in my own country, whence I was sent expressly to oppose the imposition of that tax. If on such reconsideration and enquiry you find, as I am persuaded you will, that you have been imposed upon by false Reports, or have too lightly given credit to Hearsays in a matter that concerns another's Reputation, I flatter myself that your Equity will induce you to do me Justice, by retracting that Accusation. In Confidence of this, I am, with great Esteem, Reverend Sir, your most obedient and most humble Servant,

B. FRANKLIN [1]

[1] For Josiah Tucker's reply, see page 198. — ED.

722. TO THOMAS CUSHING[1]

London, February 15, 1774.

SIR,

I wrote a line to you by the last packet, just to acquaint you there had been a hearing on our petition. I shall now give you the history of it as succinctly as I can.

We had long imagined, that the King would have considered that petition, as he had done the preceding one, in his cabinet, and have given an answer without a hearing, since it did not pray punishments or disabilities on the governors. But on Saturday the 8th of January, in the afternoon, I received notice from the clerk of the Council, that the Lords of the Committee for Plantation Affairs, would, on the Tuesday following at twelve, meet at the Cockpit, to take into consideration the petition referred to them by his Majesty, and that my attendance was required.

I sent directly to Mr. Arthur Lee, requesting a meeting, that we might consult upon it. He was not at his chambers, but my note was left for him. Sunday morning I went to Mr. Bollan, and communicated the affair to him. He had received a similar notice. We considered whether it was best to employ other counsel, since Mr. Lee, he said, could not be admitted as such, not being yet called to the bar. He thought it not advisable. He had sometimes done it in colony cases, and found lawyers of little service. Those who are eminent, and hope to rise in their profession, are unwilling to offend the court; and its disposition on this occasion was

[1] First printed by Sparks. — ED.

well known. But he would move to be heard in behalf of the Council of the province, and thence take occasion to support the petition himself.

I went and sent again to Mr. Lee's chambers in the Temple, but could not meet with him; and it was not till near the end of the week that I learnt he was at Bath. On Monday, very late in the afternoon, I received another notice, that Mr. Mauduit, agent for the governor and lieutenant-governor, had asked and obtained leave to be heard by counsel on the morrow in their behalf. This very short notice seemed intended to surprise us. On Tuesday, we attended at the Cockpit, and the petition being read, I was called upon for what I had to offer in support of it; when, as had been concerted between us, I acquainted their Lordships that Mr. Bollan, then present, in pursuance of their notice, would speak to it.

He came forward and began to speak; but objection was immediately made by some of the Lords, that he, being only agent for the Council, which was not a party to this petition, could not properly be heard on it. He however repeatedly endeavoured to obtain leave to speak, but without effect; they would scarce hear out a sentence, and finally set him aside. I then said, that, with the petition of the House of Representatives, I had received their resolutions which preceded it, and a copy of the letters on which those resolutions were founded, which I would lay before their Lordships in support of the petition.

The resolutions were accordingly read; but, when the letters were taken up, Mr. Wedderburn, the solicitor-general, brought there as counsel for the governors, began to object, and inquire how they were authenticated, as did also some

of the Lords. I said the authentications were annexed. They wanted to know the nature of them. I said that would appear, when they were read, and prayed they would hear them. Lord Chief Justice De Grey asked whom the letters were directed to; and, taking them in his hand, observed there was no address prefixed to any of them. I said, that, though it did not appear to whom they were directed, it appeared who had written them; their names were subscribed; the originals had been shown to the gentlemen themselves, and they had not denied their handwriting; and the testifications annexed proved these to be true copies.

With difficulty I obtained leave to have the authentications read; and the solicitor-general proceeding to make observations as counsel for the governors, I said to their Lordships, that it was some surprise to me to find counsel employed against the petition; that I had no notice of that intention, till late in the preceding day; that I had not purposed troubling their Lordships with the hearing of counsel, because I did not conceive that any thing could possibly arise out of the petition, any point of law or of right, that might require the discussion of lawyers; that I apprehended this matter before their Lordships was rather a question of civil or political prudence, whether, on the state of the fact that the governors had lost all trust and confidence with the people, and become universally obnoxious, it would be for the interest of his Majesty's service to continue them in those stations in that province; that I conceived this to be a question of which their Lordships were already perfect judges, and could receive no assistance in it from the arguments of counsel; but, if counsel was to be heard on the other side, I must then request leave to bring counsel in behalf of the Assembly,

and that their Lordships would be pleased to appoint a further day for the hearing, to give time for preparing the counsel.

Mr. Mauduit was then asked, if he would waive the leave he had of being heard by counsel, that their Lordships might proceed immediately to consider the petition. He said he was requested by the governors to defend them, and they had promised to defray the expense, by which he understood that they expected he should employ counsel; and then, making me some compliments, as if of superior abilities, said he should not against me hazard the defence of his friends by taking it upon himself. I said I had intended merely to lay the papers before their Lordships, without making a single comment on them. But this did not satisfy; he chose to be heard by counsel. So finally I had leave to be heard by counsel also in behalf of the petition. The solicitor-general, finding his cavils against the admission of the letters were not supportable, at last said, that, to save their Lordships' time, he would admit the copies to be true transcripts of the originals, but he should reserve to himself a right, when the matter come on again, of asking certain questions, such as, How the Assembly came into possession of them, through what hands, and by what means they were procured? "Certainly," replied Lord Chief Justice De Grey, somewhat austerely, "and to whom they were directed; for the perfect understanding of the passages may depend on that and other such circumstances. We can receive no charge against a man founded on letters directed to nobody, and perhaps received by nobody. The laws of this country have no such practice." Lord President, near whom I stood, as I was putting up my papers, asked me if I intended to answer such questions. In

that, I said, I shall take counsel. The day appointed for the hearing was the 29th of January.

Several friends now came to me, and advised me to retain Mr. Dunning, formerly solicitor-general, and very able in his profession. I wished first to consult with Mr. Lee, supposing he might rather be for his friend, Mr. Sergeant Glynn. I found Mr. Lee was expected in town about the latter end of the week, and thought to wait his coming; in the mean time I was urged to take Mr. Dunning's advice, as to my own conduct, if such questions should be asked me. I did so; and he was clear, that I was not and could not be obliged to answer them, if I did not choose it, which I informed him was the case, being under a promise not to divulge from whom I received the letters. He said he would attend, however, if I desired it, and object in my behalf to their putting such questions.

A report now prevailed through the town, that I had been grossly abused by the solicitor-general, at the Council Board. But this was premature. He had only intended it, and mentioned that intention. I heard, too, from all quarters, that the ministry and all the courtiers were highly enraged against me for transmitting those letters. I was called an incendiary, and the papers were filled with invectives against me. Hints were given me, that there was some thoughts of apprehending me, seizing my papers, and sending me to Newgate. I was well informed, that a resolution was taken to deprive me of my place; it was only thought best to defer it till after the hearing; I suppose, because I was there to be so blackened, that nobody should think it injustice. Many knew, too, how the petition was to be treated; and I was told, even before the first hearing, that it was to be rejected with some epithets, the Assembly to be censured, and some honour done the gov-

ernors. How this could be known, one cannot say. It might be only conjecture.

The transactions relating to the tea had increased and strengthened the torrent of clamour against us. No one had the least expectation of success to the petition; and, though I had asked leave to use counsel, I was half inclined to waive it, and save you the expense; but Mr. Bollan was now strongly for it, as they had refused to hear him. And, though fortified by his opinion, as he had long experience in your affairs, I would at first have ventured to deviate from the instructions you sent me in that particular, supposing you to allow some discretionary liberty to your agents; yet, now that he urged it as necessary, I employed a solicitor, and furnished him with what materials I could for framing a brief; and Mr. Lee, coming to town, entered heartily into the business, and undertook to engage Sergeant Glynn, who would readily have served us, but, being in a fit of the gout, which made his attendance uncertain, the solicitor retained Mr. Dunning and Mr. John Lee, another able man of the profession.

While my mind was taken up with this business, I was harassed with a subpœna from the Chancellor to attend his court the next day, at the suit of Mr. William Whately concerning the letters. This man was under personal obligations to me, such as would have made it base in him to commence such a suit of his own motion against me, without any previous notice, claim, or demand; but, if he was capable of doing it at the instance of the ministry, whose banker he is for some pension money, he must be still baser.

The briefs being prepared and perused by our counsel, we had a consultation at Mr. Dunning's chambers in Lincoln's Inn. I introduced Mr. Arthur Lee, as my friend and

successor in the agency. The brief, as you will see by a copy I send you, pointed out the passages of the letters, which were applicable in support of the particular charges contained in the resolutions and petition. But the counsel observed, we wanted evidence to prove those passages false; the counsel on the other side would say, they were true representations of the state of the country; and, as to the political reflections of the writers, and their sentiments of government, their aims to extend and enforce the power of Parliament and diminish the privileges of their countrymen, though these might appear in the letters and need no other proof, yet they would never be considered here as offences, but as virtues and merits. The counsel therefore thought it would answer no good end to insist on those particulars; and that it was more advisable to state as facts the general discontent of the people, that the governors had lost all credit with them, and were become odious, &c.; facts of which the petition was itself full proof, because otherwise it could not have existed; and then show that it must in such a situation be necessary for his Majesty's service, as well as the peace of the province, to remove them. By this opinion, great part of the brief became unnecessary.

Notwithstanding the intimations I had received, I could not believe that the solicitor-general would be permitted to wander from the question before their Lordships into a new case, the accusation of another person for another matter, not cognizable before them, who could not expect to be there so accused, and therefore could not be prepared for his defence. And yet all this happened, and in all probability was preconcerted; for all the courtiers were invited, as to an entertainment, and there never was such an appearance

of privy counsellors on any occasion, not less than thirty-five, besides an immense crowd of other auditors.

The hearing began by reading my letter to Lord Dartmouth, enclosing the petition, then the petition itself, the resolves, and lastly the letters, the solicitor-general making no objections, nor asking any of the questions he had talked of at the preceding board. Our counsel then opened the matter, upon their general plan, and acquitted themselves very handsomely; only Mr. Dunning, having a disorder on his lungs that weakened his voice exceedingly, was not so perfectly heard as one could have wished. The solicitor-general then went into what he called a history of the province for the last ten years, and bestowed plenty of abuse upon it, mingled with encomium on the governors. But the favorite part of his discourse was levelled at your agent, who stood there the butt of his invective ribaldry for near an hour, not a single Lord adverting to the impropriety and indecency of treating a public messenger in so ignominious a manner, who was present only as the person delivering your petition, with the consideration of which no part of *his* conduct had any concern. If he had done a wrong, in obtaining and transmitting the letters, that was not the tribunal where he was to be accused and tried. The cause was already before the Chancellor. Not one of their Lordships checked and recalled the orator to the business before them, but, on the contrary, a very few excepted, they seemed to enjoy highly the entertainment, and frequently burst out in loud applauses. This part of his speech was thought so good, that they have since printed it, in order to defame me everywhere, and particularly to destroy my reputation on your side of the water; but the grosser parts of the abuse are omitted, appearing,

I suppose, in their own eyes, too foul to be seen on paper so that the speech, compared to what it was, is now perfectly decent. I send you one of the copies. My friends advise me to write an answer, which I purpose immediately.

The reply of Mr. Dunning concluded. Being very ill, and much incommoded by standing so long, his voice was so feeble, as to be scarce audible. What little I heard was very well said, but appeared to have little effect.

Their Lordships' Report, which I send you, is dated the same day. It contains a severe censure, as you will see, on the petition and the petitioners; and, as I think, a very unfair conclusion from my silence, that the charge of surreptitiously obtaining the letters was a true one; though the solicitor, as appears in the printed speech, had acquainted them that the matter was before the Chancellor; and my counsel had stated the impropriety of my answering there to charges then trying in another court. In truth I came by them honourably, and my intention in sending them was virtuous, if an endeavour to lessen the breach between two states of the same empire be such, by showing that the injuries complained of by one of them did not proceed from the other, but from traitors among themselves.

It may be supposed, that I am very angry on this occasion, and therefore I did purpose to add no reflections of mine on the treatment the Assembly and their agent have received, lest they should be thought the effects of resentment and a desire of exasperating. But, indeed, what I feel on my own account is half lost in what I feel for the public. When I see, that all petitions and complaints of grievances are so odious to government, that even the mere pipe which conveys them becomes obnoxious, I am at a loss to know how

peace and union are to be maintained or restored between the different parts of the empire. Grievances cannot be redressed unless they are known; and they cannot be known but through complaints and petitions. If these are deemed affronts, and the messengers punished as offenders, who will henceforth send petitions? And who will deliver them? It has been thought a dangerous thing in any state to stop up the vent of griefs. Wise governments have therefore generally received petitions with some indulgence, even when but slightly founded. Those, who think themselves injured by their rulers, are sometimes, by a mild and prudent answer, convinced of their error. But where complaining is a crime, hope becomes despair.

The day following I received a written notice from the secretary of the general postoffice, that his Majesty's postmaster-general *found it necessary* to dismiss me from my office of deputy postmaster-general in North America. The expression was well chosen, for in truth they were *under* a *necessity* of doing it; it was not their own inclination; they had no fault to find with my conduct in the office; they knew my merit in it, and that, if it was now an office of value, it had become such chiefly through my care and good management; that it was worth nothing, when given to me; it would not then pay the salary allowed me, and, unless it did, I was not to expect it; and that it now produces near three thousand pounds a year clear to the treasury here. They had beside a personal regard for me. But as the postoffices in all the principal towns are growing daily more and more valuable, by the increase of correspondence, the officers being paid *commissions* instead of *salaries*, the ministers seem to intend, by directing me to be displaced on this occa-

sion, to hold out to them all an example that, if they are not corrupted by their office to promote the measures of administration, though against the interests and rights of the colonies, they must not expect to be continued. This is the first act for extending the influence of government in this branch. But as orders have been some time since given to the American postmaster-general, who used to have the disposition of all places under him, not to fill vacancies of value, till notice of such vacancies had been sent hither, and instructions thereupon received from hence, it is plain, that such influence is to be a part of the system; and probable, that those vacancies will for the future be filled by officers from this country. How safe the correspondence of your Assembly committees along the continent will be through the hands of such officers may now be worth consideration, especially as the postoffice act of Parliament allows a postmaster to open letters, if warranted so to do by the order of a secretary of state, and every provincial secretary may be deemed a secretary of state in his own province.

It is not yet known what steps will be taken by government with regard to the colonies, or to our province in particular. But, as inquiries are making of all who come from thence, concerning the late riot, and the meetings that preceded it, and who were speakers and movers at these meetings, I suspect there is some intention of seizing persons, and perhaps of sending them hither. But of this I have no certainty. No motion has yet been made in the House of Commons concerning our affairs; and that made in the House of Lords was withdrawn for the present. It is not likely, however, that the session will pass over without some proceeding relating to us, though perhaps it is not yet settled

what the measures shall be. With my best wishes for the prosperity of the province, I have the honour to be, Sir, &c.

B. FRANKLIN

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723. TO RICHARD BACHE (A. P. S.)

London, Feb. 17. 1774

DEAR SON,

I received yours of Nov. 20, 30, Dec. 28, & Jany 1. Before this gets to hand you will have heard that I am displac'd, and consequently have it no longer in my Power to assist you in your Views relating to the Post Office, and as things are I would not wish to see you concern'd in it. For I conceive that the Dismissing me merely for not being corrupted by the Office to betray the Interests of my Country, will make it some Disgrace among us to hold such an Office.

Inclos'd I send you the Bill I paid for you. There was no Protest.

I am oblig'd by your Civilities to the People I recommend to you. — In Capt. Falconer's ship there goes a young Man of good Character, William Brown, a Tanner, to whom I gave a Letter for you, and I wish you to assist him with your best Advice. With Capt. All there goes a Philip Adams with his Wife and Child. He is a Farmer, well recommended to me as a very honest Man. I shall give him likewise a Letter to you, and desire you would favour him too with your Counsel, and show them some Civility. —

I am glad my Countrymen Approve of the Papers you mention. The Ministry here do not like them at all. The General was a little mistaken.

I receiv'd the Accounts from Mr T. Foxcroft. I wrote

by the Packet to desire that no more of those Payments should be receiv'd.

I am now fix'd to return homewards in or about May next. I hope to have the great Pleasure of finding you all well and happy. It will not be worth while to write me any Letters that cannot be expected to arrive here before the middle of that Month.

I forwarded your Letter to your good Mother.

My love to Sally & the Children. I am ever

Your affectionate Father

B. F.

I send with Capt. Falconer consign'd to you, a Number of Boxes of Printing Letters, which I purchas'd at an Auction extreamly cheap. Store them away somewhere without opening. When I return, I can either sell them or use them, as I may find Occasion.

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724. TO JOSEPH GALLOWAY (A. P. S.)

London, Feb. 18. 1774

DEAR FRIEND, ...

The Acts of Feby Session 1773, are at last presented, of which I have lately acquainted the Committee.[1] They are now before the Board of Trade. I do not yet hear of any Objection to the Paper Money Bill, and hope there can be none that we shall not get over. I observe there is no Declaration of the Value of the Bills, whether Proclamation or Sterling; possibly if this should be taken Notice of, it may

[1] The acts of the Pennsylvania Assembly, sent over to be approved by the King. — ED.

be thought too loose and uncertain; but it may escape their Observation, and if necessary, you can by a little Supplement ascertain it.

The Treatment of the Tea in America has excited great Wrath here, but how that will vent itself is not yet known, except that some part of it has fallen upon me, perhaps from a Suspicion that I instigated the Opposition to its Importation. This, however, is not the given Reason. My returning to Boston Hutchinson & Oliver's letters is held out to the Public as the great Offence for which I am depriv'd of my Office. I will explain to you my Conduct in that Matter.

Those Letters, which had, at the time, been shown about here to several Persons, fell into the Hands of a Gentleman, who produc'd them to me, to convince me of the Truth of a Fact, the Possibility of which I had in Conversation deny'd, viz, that the sending Troops to Boston, and other Measures so offensive to the People of New England, did not arise from any inimical Disposition in this Country towards them, but were projected, propos'd & solicited by some of the principal & best esteemed of their own People. I was convinc'd accordingly, by perusing those Letters, and thought it might have a good effect, if I could convince the Leaders there of the same Truth, since it would remove much of their Resentment against Britain as a harsh, unkind ——[1] Mother, lay the Blame where it ought to lay, and by that means promote a Reconciliation. I therefore obtain'd Leave to send over the Letters, but with a Promise that they should only be shown to a few Persons, not printed, nor any Copies

[1] The letter as known to Sparks and Bigelow ended here. The remainder of the letter by them believed to be lost is now printed from the draft found by me among the Franklin papers in A. P. S. — ED.

taken, and the Originals return'd. This Injunction I sent with the Letters to the Comm^es^ of Correspondence, but the Assembly found means to evade it, & printed them. They however took up the Matter as I intended it, and resolv'd that all their Grievances had originated from those Persons. If the Ministry here had been dispos'd to a Reconciliation, as they sometimes pretend to be, this was giving a fair Opening, which they might have thank'd me for; but they chose rather to abuse me, and at a Hearing before the Privy Council on an Address of the Massachusetts Assembly for the Removal of the Governor, indecently suffer'd the Solicitor General to wander from the Point before them into a long studied Invective ag^t^ me who was there only as a publick Messenger charg'd with that Address to his Majesty. Wedderburne's Speech is since printed; but as everybody except the Courtiers had exclaim'd at the Scurrility of it, they seem to have been asham'd of it, when in black & white, & have omitted much of it, so that compar'd to the Verbal Speech, the printed one is perfectly decent. I shall soon answer it & give this Court my Farewell.

I wish most sincerely with you that a Constitution was form'd and settled for America, that we might know what we are & what we have, what our Rights and what our Duties in the Judgment of this Country as well as in our own. Till such a Constitution is settled, different Sentiments will ever occasion Misunderstandings.

But if 'tis to be settled, it must settle itself, no body here caring for the Trouble of thinking on't.

I long to be with you & to converse with you on these important Heads. A few months I hope will bring us together. In the calm Retirement of Trevose, perhaps we

may spend some Hours usefully. I am sure they will be spent agreably to Dear Friend

Yours most affectionately

B. FRANKLIN

P. S. The Ship Ohio still aground.

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725. TO WILLIAM FRANKLIN (B. M.)

February 18, 1774

Some tell me that it is determined to displace you likewise, but I do not know it as certain. I only give you the hint, as an Inducement to you to delay awhile your removal to Amboy, which in that Case would be an Expense and Trouble to no purpose. Perhaps they may expect that your Resentment of their Treatment of me may induce you to resign, and save them the shame of depriving you when they ought to promote. But this I would not advise you to do. Let them take your place if they want it, tho in truth I think it scarce worth your Keeping, since it has not afforded you sufficient to prevent your running every year behindhand with me. But one may make something of an Injury, nothing of a Resignation. B. FRANKLIN.

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726. TO JOHN FOXCROFT (A. P. S.)

London, Feb. 18. 1774.

DEAR FRIEND,

It is long since I have heard from you. I hope nothing I have written has occasion'd any Coolness. We are no longer Colleagues, but let us part as we have liv'd so long, in Friendship.

I am displac'd unwillingly by our Masters, who were oblig'd to comply with the Orders of the Ministry. It seems I am too much of an American. Take care of yourself, for you are little less.

I hope my Daughter continues well. My Blessing to her. I shall soon, God willing, have the Pleasure of seeing you, intending homewards in May next. I only wait the Arrival of the April Pacquet with the Accounts, that I may settle them here before I go. I beg you will not fail of forwarding them by that Opportunity, which will greatly oblige

Dear Friend,

Yours most affectionately

[B. FRANKLIN]

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727. FROM JOSIAH TUCKER TO B. FRANKLIN (A. P. S.)

Monday, February 21st, 1774.

SIR,

The letter which you did me the honour to send to Gloucester, I have just received in London, where I have resided many weeks, and am now returning to Gloucester. On inquiry, I find that I was mistaken in *some circumstances* relating to your conduct about the Stamp Act, though right as to the *substance*. These errors shall be rectified the first opportunity. After having assured you, that I am no dealer in *anonymous* newspaper paragraphs, nor have a connexion with any who are, I have the honour to be, Sir, your humble servant,

J. TUCKER.

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728. TO JOSIAH TUCKER (L. C.)

London, Feb. 22. 1774

REVEREND SIR,

I received your Favour of yesterday. If the *Substance* of what you have charged me with is right, I can have but

little concern about any mistakes in the *Circumstances:* Whether they are rectified or not, will be immaterial. But, knowing the Substance to be wrong, and believing that you can have no desire of continuing in an Error, prejudicial to any Man's Reputation, I am persuaded you will not take it amiss, if I request you to communicate to me the Particulars of the Information you have received, that I may have an opportunity of examining them; and I flatter myself I shall be able to satisfy you that they are groundless. I propose this Method as more decent than a public Altercation, and suiting better the respect due to your Character. With great Regard, I have the Honour to be, Reverend Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

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729. FROM J. TUCKER TO B. FRANKLIN[1]

(A. P. S.)

Glocester, Feb. 24, 1774.

SIR,

The Request made in your last letter is so very just and reasonable, that I shall comply with it very readily. It has long appeared to me, that you much exceeded the Bounds of Morality in the Methods you pursued for the advancement of the supposed Interest of America. If it can be proved, that I have unjustly suspected you, I shall acknowledge my Error with as much satisfaction as you can have in reading my Recantation of it. As to the Case more immediately referred to in your letters, I was repeatedly informed, that you had solicited the late Mr. George Grenville for a place or agency in the Distribution of Stamps in America. From which Circumstance I myself concluded, that you had made interest for it on your own Account; whereas I am now informed, there are no positive Proofs of your having solicited to obtain such a Place for yourself, but that there is sufficient Evidence still existing of your having applied for it in favour of another Person. If this latter

[1] The original letter is in A. P. S. A contemporary transcript is in L. C. — ED.

should prove to be the Fact, as I am assured it will, I am willing to suppose, from several Expressions in both your letters, that you will readily acknowledge that the Difference in this Case between yourself and your Friend, is very immaterial to the general Merits of the Question. But, if you should have Distinctions in this Case, which are above my Comprehension, I shall content myself with observing, that your great Abilities and happy Discoveries deserve universal Regard; and that, as on these accounts I respect and esteem you, so I have the Honour to be, Sir, your very humble Servant,

J. TUCKER.

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730. TO JOSIAH TUCKER (L. C.)

London, Feb. 26, 1774.

REV^d^ SIR,

I thank you for the Frankness with which you have communicated to me the Particulars of the Information you had received, relating to my supposed Application to Mr. Grenville for a Place in the American Stamp-Office. As I deny that either your former or latter Informations are true, it seems incumbent on me, for your Satisfaction, to relate all the Circumstances fairly to you, that could possibly give rise to such Mistakes.

Some Days after the Stamp Act was passed, to which I had given all the Opposition I could, with Mr Grenville, I received a Note from Mr. Wheatly, his Secretary, desiring to see me the next morning. I waited upon him accordingly, and found with him several other Colony Agents. He acquainted us, that Mr. Grenville was desirous to make the Execution of the Act as little inconvenient and disagreeable to the Americans as possible; and therefore did not think of sending Stamp Officers from hence, but wished to have discreet and reputable Persons appointed in each Province from among the Inhabitants, such as would be acceptable

to them; for, as they were to pay the Tax, he thought Strangers should not have the Emoluments. Mr. Wheatly therefore wished us to name for our respective Colonies, informing us, that Mr. Grenville would be obliged to us for pointing out to him honest and responsible Men, and would pay great regard to our Nominations. By this plausible and apparently candid Declaration, we were drawn in to nominate; and I named for our Province Mr. Hughes, saying, at the same time, that I knew not whether he would accept of it, but, if he did, I was sure he would execute the office faithfully. I soon after had notice of his appointment. We none of us, I believe, foresaw or imagined, that this Compliance with the request of the Minister would or could have been called an *Application* of ours, and adduced as a proof of our *Approbation* of the Act we had been opposing; otherwise I think few of us would have named at all; I am sure I should not. This, I assure you, and can prove to you by living Evidence, is a true account of the Transaction in question, which, if you compare with that you have been induced to give of it in your Book, I am persuaded you will see a *difference* that is far from being "*a Distinction above your Comprehension.*"

Permit me further to remark, that your Expression of there being "no *positive Proofs* of my having solicited to obtain such a place *for myself*," implies that there are nevertheless some *circumstantial* Proofs sufficient at least to support a Suspicion. The latter Part however of the same Sentence, which says, "there is sufficient Evidence still existing of my having *applied for it* in favour of another Person," must, I apprehend, if credited, destroy that Suspicion, and be considered as *positive* Proof of the contrary; for, if I had Interest enough with Mr. Grenville to obtain that

Place for another, is it likely that it would have been refused me, had I asked it for myself?

There is another Circumstance, which I would offer to your candid Consideration. You describe me as "changing sides, and appearing at the Bar of the House of Commons to cry down the very Measure I had espoused, and direct the Storm that was falling upon that Minister." As this must have been after my supposed solicitation of the Favour for myself or my Friend, and Mr. Grenville and Mr. Wheatly were both in the House at the Time, and both asked me Questions, can it be conceived, that, offended as they must have been with such a Conduct in me, neither of them should put me in mind of this my sudden Changing of Sides, or remark it to the House, or reproach me with it, or require my Reasons for it? And yet all the Members then present know, that not a Syllable of the kind fell from either of them, or from any of their Party.

I persuade myself that by this time you begin to suspect you may have been misled by your Informers. I do not ask who they are, because I do not wish to have particular Motives for disliking People, who in general may deserve my Respect. They too may have drawn *Consequences* beyond the Information they received from others, and, hearing the Office had been *given* to a Person of my Nomination, might as naturally suppose *I had sollicited it*, as Dr. Tucker, hearing I had *sollicited it*, might "*conclude*" it was for myself.

I desire you to believe, that I take kindly, as I ought, your freely mentioning to me, "that it has long appeared to you, that I much exceeded the Bounds of Morality in the Methods I pursued for the Advancement of the supposed Interests of America." I am sensible there is a good deal of Truth

in the Adage, that *our Sins and our Debts are always more than we take them to be;* and tho' I cannot at present, on Examination of my Conscience, charge myself with any Immorality of that kind, it becomes me to suspect, that what has *long appeared* to you may have some Foundation. You are so good as to add, that, "if it can be proved you have unjustly suspected me, you shall have a satisfaction in acknowledging the Error." It is often a hard thing to *prove* that Suspicions are unjust, even when we know what they are; and harder, when we are unacquainted with them. I must presume, therefore, that, in mentioning them, you had an Intention of communicating the Grounds of them to me, if I should request it, which I now do, and, I assure you, with a sincere Desire and Design of amending what you may show me to have been wrong in my conduct, and to thank you for the admonition. In your Writings I *appear* a bad Man; but, if I am such, and you can thus help me to become *in reality* a good one, I shall esteem it more than a sufficient Reparation to, Reverend Sir, your most obedient humble servant, B. F.[1]

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731. TO SAMUEL COOPER (B. M.)

London, Feb. 25, 1774.

DEAR SIR,

I thank you much for your respected Favours of Nov. 10, Dec. 17, and 20, and for the satisfactory Intelligence they contained. I condole with you most sincerely on your great Loss.

[1] A memorandum was found appended to the rough draft of this letter, in the handwriting of the author, dated February 7th, 1775, in which he said: "No answer has yet been receiv'd to the above letter." — ED.

I have written a pretty full Account to the Speaker of the Treatment their Petition and their Agent have received here. My Letter went to Symes, and probably you may have seen it before this can reach you; therefore, and because I have a little Disorder in my Eyes at present, I do not repeat any part of it to you, nor can I well send a Copy to him.

You can have no Conception of the Rage the ministerial People have been in with me, on acc[t] of my transmitting those Letters.[1] It is quite incomprehensible. If they had been wise, they might have made a good Use of the Discovery, by agreeing to lay the Blame of our Differences on those, from whom, by those Letters, it appear'd to have arisen, and by a Change of Measures, which would then have appear'd natural, and restor'd the Harmony between the two Countries.

I send directed to you a Set of the late French Edition of my Philosophical Papers.[2] There are in it several Pieces not in the English. When you have look'd them over, please to give them to Mr. Winthrop for the College Library.[3] I am ever, dear Sir, yours most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

[1] Hutchinson's Letters. — ED.

[2] Dubourg's edition, published in 1773. — ED.

[3] Harvard College. — ED.

732. ON

THE RISE AND PROGRESS

OF THE

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND HER AMERICAN COLONIES.[1]

TO THE PRINTER OF *THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER* (L. C.)

SIR,

The enclos'd Paper was written just before Lord Hillsborough quitted the American Department. An Expectation then prevailing, from the good Character of the noble Lord who succeeded him, that the Grievances of the Colonies would, under his Administration, be redress'd, it was laid aside; but, as not a single Measure of his Predecessor has since been even attempted to be changed, and on the contrary new ones have been continually added, farther to exasperate, render them desperate, and drive them, if possible, into open Rebellion, it may not be amiss now to give it the Public, as it shows in detail the rise and Progress of those differences, which are about to break the Empire into Pieces.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.,

A. P.

SIR,

It is a bad Temper of Mind that takes a Delight in Opposition, and is ever ready to Censure Ministry in the gross,

[1] An auto d. of the letter and a contemporary copy of the enclosure are in L. C. The exact date is unknown. W. T. F. supposed the article to have been written about the time F. departed for America. — ED.

without Discrimination. Charity should be willing to believe, that we never had an Administration so bad, but there might be some good and some wise Men in it; and that even such is our Case at present. The Scripture saith, "By their Works shall ye know them." By their Conduct, then, in their respective Departments, and not by their Company or their party Connections, should they be distinctly and separately judged.

One of the most serious affairs to this Nation, that has of late required the Attention of Government, is our Misunderstanding with the Colonies. They are in the Department of Lord Hillsborough, and, from a prevailing Opinion of his Abilities, have been left by the other Ministers very much to his Management. If, then, our American Business has been conducted with Prudence, to him chiefly will be due the Reputation of it.

Soon after the Conclusion of the last War, it became an Object with the Ministers of this Country to draw a Revenue from America. The first Attempt was by a Stamp Act. It soon appeared, that this Step had not been well considered; that the Rights, the Ability, the Opinions and Temper of that great People had not been sufficiently attended to. They complained, that the Tax was *unnecessary*, because their Assemblies had ever been ready to make voluntary Grants to the Crown in proportion to their Abilities, when duly required so to do; and *unjust*, because they had no Representative in the British Parliament, but had Parliaments of their own, wherein their Consent was *given*, as it *ought to be*, in *Grants* of their own money. I do not mean to enter into this Question. The Parliament repealed the Act as inexpedient, but in another Act asserted a Right of taxing

America; and in the following Year laid Duties on the Manufactures of this Country exported thither. On the Repeal of the Stamp Act, the Americans had returned to their wonted Good-Humor and Commerce with Great Britain; but this new Act for laying Duties renewed their uneasiness. They were long since forbidden by the Navigation Act to purchase Manufactures of any other Nation; and, supposing that Act well enforced, they saw, that by this indirect Mode it was in the Power of Great Britain to burden them as much as by any direct Tax, unless they could lay aside the Use of such Manufactures as they had been accustomed to purchase from Britain, or make the same themselves.

In this Situation were Affairs, when my Lord H.[1] entred on the American Administration. Much was expected from his supposed Abilities, Application, and Knowledge of Business in that Department. The Newspapers were filled with his Panegyrics, and our Expectations raised perhaps inconveniently.

The Americans determined to petition their Sovereign, praying his gracious Interposition in their favour with his Parliament, that the Imposition of these Duties, which they considered as an Infringement of their Rights, might be repealed. The Assembly of the Massachusetts Bay had voted that it should be proposed to the other Colonies to concur in that Measure. This, for what Reason I do not easily conceive, gave great offence to his Lordship; and one of his first Steps was to *prevent* these concurring Petitions. To this End, he sent a Mandate to that Assembly (the Parliament of that Country), requiring them to *rescind* that Vote, and desist from the Measure, threatening them with Dissolu-

[1] Hillsborough. — ED.

tion in case of Disobedience. The Governor communicated to them the Instructions he received to that purpose. They refused to obey, and were dissolved! Similar orders were sent at the same time to the Governors of the other Colonies, to dissolve their respective Parliaments if they presumed to accede to the Boston Proposition of Petitioning his Majesty, and several of them were accordingly dissolved.

Bad Ministers have ever been averse to the Right Subjects claim of petitioning and remonstrating to their Sovereign; for thro' that Channel the Prince may be apprized of the Mal-Administration of his Servants; they may sometimes be thereby brought into Danger; at least such Petitions afford a Handle to their Adversaries, whereby to give them Trouble. But, as the Measure to be complained of was not his Lordship's, it is rather extraordinary that he should thus set his face against the intended Complaints. In his angry Letters to America, he called the Proposal of these Petitions "a Measure of most *dangerous* and *factious* Tendency, calculated to enflame the Minds of his Majesty's Subjects in the Colonies, to promote an *unwarrantable Combination*, and to excite and encourage an *open Opposition* to, and denial of, *the Authority of the Parliament*, and *to subvert the true Spirit of the Constitution;*" and directed the Governors, immediately on the Receipt of these Orders, to exert their utmost Influence to defeat this *flagitious* Attempt.

Without entring into the particular Motives to this Piece of his Lordship's Conduct, let us consider a little the Wisdom of it. When Subjects conceive themselves oppressed or injured, laying their complaints before the Sovereign, or the governing Powers, is a kind of Vent to Griefs that gives some Ease to their Minds; the receiving with at least an *Appearance* of

Regard their Petitions, and taking them into Consideration, gives present Hope, and affords time for the cooling of Resentment; so that even the Refusal, when decently express'd and accompanied with Reasons, is made less unpleasant by the Manner, is half approved, and the rest submitted to with Patience. But when this Vent to popular Discontents is deny'd, and the Subjects are thereby driven to Desperation, infinite Mischiefs follow. Many Princes have lost Part, and some the whole of their Dominions, and some their Lives, by this very Conduct of their Servants. The Secretary for America, therefore, seems in this Instance not to have judged rightly for the Service of his excellent Master.

But supposing the Measure of discouraging and *preventing* Petitions a right one, were the Means of effecting this End judiciously chosen? I mean, the threatening with *Dissolution* and the actual dissolving of the American Parliaments. His Lordship probably took up the Idea from what he knows of the State of Things in England and Ireland, where, to be re-chosen upon a Dissolution, often gives a Candidate great Trouble, and sometimes costs him a great deal of Money. A Dissolution may therefore be both Fine and Punishment to the Members, if they desire to be again returned. But, in most of the Colonies, there is no such thing as standing Candidate for Election. There is neither Treating nor Bribing. No Man even expresses the least Inclination to be chosen. Instead of humble Advertisements, intreating Votes and Interest, you see, before every new Election, Requests of former Members, acknowledging the Honour done them by preceding Elections, but setting forth their long Service and Attendance on the Public Business in that Station, and

praying that, in Consideration thereof, some other Person may be chosen in their Room.

Where this is the Case, where the same Representatives may be, and generally are, after a Dissolution, chosen, without asking a Vote or giving even a Glass of Cyder to an Elector, is it likely that such a Threat could contribute in the least to answer the End proposed? The Experience of former Governors might have instructed his Lordship, that this was a vain Expedient. Several of them, misled by their English Ideas, had tried this Practice to make Assemblies submissive to their Measures, but never with Success. By the Influence of his Power in granting Offices, a Governor naturally has a Number of Friends in an Assembly; these, if suffered to continue, tho' a Minority, might frequently serve his Purposes, by promoting what he wishes, or obstructing what he dislikes. But if, to punish the Majority, he in a Pet dissolves the House, and orders a new Election, he is sure not to see a single Friend in the new Assembly. The People are put into an ill Humour by the Trouble given them, they resent the Dissolution as an affront, and leave out every Man suspected of having the least Regard for the Governor. This was the very Effect of my Lord's Dissolutions in America, and the new Assemblies were all found more untractable than the old ones.

But besides the Imprudence of this Measure, was it constitutional? The Crown has doubtless the Prerogative of dissolving Parliaments, a Prerogative lodged in its hands for the Publick Good, which may in various Instances require the Use of it. But should a King of Great Britain demand of his Parliament the Rescission of any Vote they had passed, or forbid them to petition the Throne, *on pain of Dissolution*,

and actually dissolve them accordingly, I humbly conceive the Minister who advised it would run some hazard of Censure at least, for thus using the Prerogative to the Violation of *common Right*, and Breach of the Constitution. The American Assemblies have no Means of impeaching such a Minister; but there is an Assembly, the Parliament of England, that has that Power, and in a former Instance exercised it well, by impeaching as great a Man, (Lord Clarendon,) for having (tho' in one Instance only,) *endeavoured to introduce arbitrary Government into the Colonies.*

The Effect this Operation of the American Secretary had in America, was not a Prevention of those Petitions, as he intended, but a Despair in the People of any Success from them, since they could not pass to the Throne but thro' the Hands of one, who showed himself so extremely averse to the Existence of them. Thence arose the Design of interesting the British Merchants and Manufacturers in the Event of their Petitions, by Agreements not to import Goods from Great Britain till their Grievances were redressed. Universal Resentment occasioned these Agreements to be more generally entred into, and the sending Troops to Boston, who daily insulted the Assembly [1] and Townsmen, instead of terrifying into a Compliance with his Measures, served only to exasperate and sour the Minds of the People throughout the Continent, make Frugality fashionable, when the Consumption of British Goods was the Question, and determine the Inhabitants to exert every Nerve in establishing Manufactures among themselves.

[1] They mounted a numerous Guard daily round the Parliament-House, with Drums beating and fifes playing, while the Members were in their Debates, and had Cannon planted and pointed at the Building. — F.

Boston having grievously offended his Lordship, by the refractory Spirit they had shown in re-chusing those Representatives, whom he esteemed Leaders of the Opposition there, he resolved to punish that Town by removing the Assembly from thence to Cambridge, a Country Place about four Miles distant. Here too his Lordship's English and Irish Ideas seem to have misled him. Removing a Parliament from London or Dublin, where so many of the Inhabitants are supported by the Expence of such a number of wealthy Lords and Commoners, and have a Dependance on that Support, may be a considerable Prejudice to a City deprived of such Advantage; but the Removal of the Assembly, consisting of frugal, honest Farmers, from Boston, could only affect the Interest of a few poor Widows, who kept Lodging-houses there. Whatever Manufactures the Members might want, were still purchased at Boston. They themselves, indeed, suffered some Inconvenience, in being perhaps less commodiously lodged, and being at a Distance from the Records; but this, and the keeping them before so long prorogued, when the Publick Affairs required their Meeting, could never reconcile them to Ministerial Measures; it could serve only to put them more out of Humour with Britain and its Government so wantonly exercised, and to so little purpose. Ignorance alone of the true State of that Country can excuse (if it may be excused) these frivolous Proceedings.

To have *good ends* in view, and to use *proper Means* to obtain them, shows the Minister to be both *good* and *wise*. To pursue *good Ends* by *improper Means* argues him, tho' *good*, to be but *weak*. To pursue *bad Ends*, by *artful Means*, shows him to be *wicked*, tho' *able*. But when his *Ends* are *bad*, and the *Means* he uses *improper* to obtain those ends,

what shall we say of such a Minister? Every Step taken for some time past in our Treatment of America, the suspending their Legislative Powers for not making Laws *by Direction* from hence; the countenancing their Adversaries by Rewards and Pensions, paid out of the Revenues extorted from them by Laws to which they have not given their Assent; the sending over a set of rash, indiscreet Commissioners to collect that Revenue, who by insolence of Behaviour, harassing Commerce, and perpetually accusing the good People (out of whose Substance they are supported) to Government here, as Rebels and Traitors, have made themselves universally odious there, but here are caressed and encouraged; together with the arbitrary Dissolution of Assemblies, and the quartering Troops among the People, to menace and insult them; all these Steps, if intended to provoke them to Rebellion, that we might take their Lives and confiscate their Estates, are proper Means to obtain a bad End. But, if they are intended to conciliate the Americans to our Government, restore our Commerce with them, and secure the Friendship and Assistance which their growing Strength, Wealth, and Power may, in a few years, render extremely valuable to us, can any thing be conceived more injudicious, more absurd! His Lordship may have in general a good Understanding; his Friends say he has; but in the Political Part of it, there must surely be some *Twist*, some extreme *Obliquity*.

A Well-wisher to the King and all his Dominions.

TO THE PRINTER OF *THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER* (L. C.)

SIR,

Your correspondent Britannicus inveighs violently against Dr. Franklin, for his Ingratitude to the Ministry of this Na-

tion, who have conferred upon him so many Favours. They gave him the Post-Office of America; they made his Son a Governor; and they offer'd him a Post of five hundred a Year in the Salt-Office, if he would relinquish the Interests of his Country; but he has had the Wickedness to continue true to it, and is as much an American as ever. As it is a settled Point in Government here, that every Man has his Price, 'tis plain they are Bunglers in their Business, and have not given him enough. Their Master has as much reason to be angry with them, as Rodrigue in the Play with his Apothecary, for not effectually poisoning Pandolpho, and they must probably make use of the Apothecary's Justification, viz.

"SCENE IV. *Rodrigue* and *Fell*, the Apothecary.

"*Rodrigue.* You promised to have this Pandolpho upon his Bier in less than a Week; 'tis more than a Month since, and he still walks and stares me in the Face.

"*Fell.* True; and yet I have done my best Endeavours. In various ways I have given the Miscreant as much Poison as would have kill'd an Elephant. He has swallow'd Dose after Dose; far from hurting him, he seems the better for it. He hath a wonderfully strong Constitution. I find I cannot kill him but by cutting his Throat, and that, as I take it, is not my Business.

"*Rodrigue.* Then it must be mine."

TO THE PRINTER OF *THE PUBLICK LEDGER*[1] (L.C.) (A.P.S.)

SIR,

Nothing can equal the present Rage of our ministerial Writers against our Brethren in America, who have the Mis-

[1] Original draft in A. P. S. — ED.

fortune to be *Whigs* in a Reign when *Whiggism* is out of Fashion, who are besides Protestant Dissenters and Lovers of Liberty. One may easily see from what Quarter comes the Abuse of those People in the Papers; their Struggle for their Rights is called REBELLION, and the People REBELS; while those who really rebelled in Scotland (1745) for the Expulsion of the present reigning Family, and the Establishment of Popery and arbitrary Power, on the Ruins of Liberty and Protestantism, who enter'd England and trampled on its Belly as far as Derby, to the Astonishment of this great City, and, shaking the Publick Credit of the Nation, have now all their Sins forgiven on Account of their Modish Principles, and are called, not *Rebels*, but by the softer Appellation of *Insurgents!*

These angry writers use their utmost Efforts to persuade us, that this War with the Colonies (for a War it will be) is a National Cause, when in fact it is merely a ministerial one. Administration wants an American Revenue to dissipate in corruption. The Quarrel is about a paltry three-penny Duty on Tea. There is no real Clashing of Interests between Britain and America. Their Commerce is to their mutual Advantage, or rather most to the Advantage of Britain, which finds a vast Market in America for its Manufactures; and *as good Pay*, I speak from Knowledge, as in any country she trades to upon the Face of the Globe. But the Fact needs not my Testimony; it speaks for itself; for if we could elsewhere get better Pay and better Prices, we should not send our Goods to America.

The gross Calumniators of that People, who want us to imbrue our Hands in Brothers' Blood, have the Effrontery to tell the World, that the Americans Associated in Resolu-

tions not to pay us what they owed us, unless we repeal'd the Stamp Act. This is an INFAMOUS FALSHOOD; they know it to be Such. I call upon the Incendiaries, who have advanced it, to produce their Proofs. Let them name any two that enter'd into such an Association, or any one that made such a Declaration. Absurdity marks the very Face of this Lie. Every one acquainted with Trade knows, that a credited Merchant, daring to be concern'd in such an Association, could never expect to be trusted again. His Character on the Exchange of London would be ruin'd for ever. The great Credit given them since that time, nay, the present Debt due from them, is itself a Proof of the Confidence we have in their Probity.

Another villainous falshood advanc'd against the Americans is, that, though we have been at such Expence in protecting them, they refuse to contribute their Part to the Publick general Expence of the Empire. The Fact is, that *they never did refuse a Requisition of that kind.* A Writer, who calls himself *Sagittarius* (I suppose from his flinging about, like Solomon's Fool, Firebrands, *Arrows*, and Death), in the LEDGER of March 9th, asserts, that the "Experiment has been tried, and that they did not think it expedient to return even an Answer." How does he prove this? Why, "the Colony Agents were told by Mr. Grenville, that a Revenue *would be* requir'd from them to defray the Expences of their Protection." But was the Requisition ever made? Were Circular Letters ever sent, by his Majesty's Command, from the Secretary of State to the several Colony Governments, according to the establish'd Custom, stating the Occasion and requiring such Supplies as were suitable to their Abilities and Loyalty? And did they then refuse, not only Compliance,

but an Answer? No such Matter; Agents are not the Channel thro' which Requisitions are made. If they were told by Mr. Grenville, that "a Revenue *would be* required, and yet the Colonies made no Offer, no Grant, nor laid any Tax," does it follow they would not have done it, if they had been requir'd? Probably they thought it time enough when the *Requisition* should come, and in fact it never appear'd there to this Day. In the last War they all gave so liberally, that we thought ourselves bound in honour to return them a Million. But we are disgusted with their free gifts; we want to have something that is obtain'd by force, like a mad Landlord who should refuse the willing payment of his full Rents, and chuse to take less by way of Robbery.

This Shameless Writer would cajole the People of England with the Fancy of their being Kings of America, and that their Honour is at Stake by the Americans disputing *their* Government. He thrusts us into the throne cheek-by-jole with Majesty, and would have us talk, as he writes, of *our* Subjects in America, and *our Sovereignty* over America; forgetting that the Americans are Subjects of the King, not *our* Subjects, but our *Fellow Subjects;* and that they have Parliaments of their own, with the Right of granting their own Money by their own Representatives, which we cannot deprive them of but by Violence and Injustice.

Having by a series of iniquitous and irritating Measures provok'd a loyal People almost to Desperation, we now magnify every act of an American Mob into REBELLION, tho' the Government there disapprove it and order Prosecution, as is now the case with regard to the tea destroy'd. And we talk of nothing but Troops and Fleets, and Force, of blocking up Ports, destroying Fisheries, abolishing Charters, &c.

&c. Here Mobs of English Sawyers can burn Saw-Mills; Mobs of English Labourers destroy or plunder Magazines of Corn; Mobs of English Coal-heavers attack Houses with Fire-arms; English Smugglers can fight regularly the King's cruizing Vessels, drive them ashore, and burn them, as lately on the Coast of Wales, and on the Coast of Cornwall; but upon these Accounts we hear no Talk of England's being in *rebellion;* no Threats of taking away its Magna Charta, or repealing its Bill of Rights; for we well know, that the operations of a Mob are often unexpected, sudden, and soon over, so that the Civil Power can seldom prevent or suppress them, not being able to come in before they have dispers'd themselves; and therefore it is not always accountable for their Mischiefs.

Surely the great Commerce of this Nation with the Americans is of too much Importance to be risk'd in a Quarrel, which has no Foundation but ministerial Pique and Obstinacy!

To us in the Way of Trade comes now, and has long come, all the super-lucration arising from their Labours. But will our reviling them as Cheats, Hypocrites, Scoundrels, Traitors, Cowards, Tyrants, &c. &c., according to the present Court Mode in all our Papers, make them more our Friends, more fond of our Merchandise? Did ever any Tradesman succeed, who attempted to drub Customers into his Shop? And will honest JOHN BULL, the Farmer, be long sattisfied with Servants, that before his Face attempt to kill his *Plow Horses?*

A LONDONER.

733. TO JAN INGENHOUSZ[1]

London, March 18, 1774.

DEAR FRIEND: — I am very sensible of your kindness in the concern you express on account of the late attack on my character before the Privy Council and in the papers. Be assured, my good friend, that I have done nothing unjustifiable, nothing but what is consistent with the man of honour and with my duty to my king and country, and this will soon be apparent to the public as it is now to all here who know me. I do not find that I have lost a single friend on the occasion. All have visited me repeatedly with affectionate assurances of their unaltered respect and affection, and many of distinction, with whom I had before but slight acquaintance. You know that in England there is every day, in almost every paper, some abuse on public persons of all parties, the king himself does not always escape, and the populace who are used to it, love to have a good character cut up now and then for their entertainment. On this occasion it suited the purpose of the ministry to have me abused, as it often suits the purpose of their opposers to abuse them. And having myself been long engaged in public business, this treatment is not new to me. I am almost as much used to it as they are themselves, and perhaps can bear it better. I have indeed lost a little place that was in their power, but I can do very well without it. It will not be long before I publish my vindication, which some circumstances keep back at present.

[1] From John Bigelow, "The Complete Works of Benjamin Franklin," Vol. X, p. 337. — ED.

Sir John Pringle continues well. His speech in giving the last medal, on the subject of the discoveries relating to the air, did him great honour. Dr. Priestley goes on rapidly with new and curious experiments on that subject. He is about printing a new 8vo book full of them. . . .[1]

B. FRANKLIN.

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734. TO GIAMBATISTA BECCARIA[2] (A. P. S.)

London, March 20. 1774.

REV^D^ AND DEAR SIR,

I have receiv'd several of your Favours lately, relating to the Edition of your Book in English, which I have put into the Hands of the Translator, who will observe your Directions. The Work is now in the Press, and goes on pretty fast. I am much oblig'd by your kind Assistance in procuring the Impressions from the Plates. They are not yet arriv'd here; but the Money, which I find by a Note from you to Dr. Priestly amounts to 143 livres of Piemont, will be paid by the Bookseller, Mr. Nourse, in my Absence, to any Person you may order to receive it.

Mr. Walsh, the same ingenious Member of our Society who went to France to make Experiments on the Torpedo, has lately hit on a new Discovery in Electricity, which surprizes us a little. You know that finding Air, made rarer by the Pump or by Heat, gave less Obstruction to the Passage of Electricity, than when in its denser State, we were apt to

[1] Here a paragraph is omitted relating to Walsh's experiment which is repeated almost verbatim in the next letter. — ED.

[2] This letter is printed in Italian in "Memorie Istoriche intorno gli studi del Padre Giambatista Beccaria" (Turin, 1783), p. 150. In the book it is dated March 25, 1774. — ED.

think a perfect Vacuum would give it no Resistance at all. But he, having by boiling the Mercury made a perfect Vacuum in a long bent Torricellian Tube, has found that Vacuum to resist absolutely the Passage of the Electric Fluid during two or three Days, or till some quantity of Air, the smallest imaginable, is admitted into it. This, if verify'd by future Experiments, may afford some new Light to the Doctrine ——[1] of the science of atmospheric electricity, and of the aurora borealis. I have the honour to be with inalterable Respect and Esteem Rev. Sir, etc.

B. FRANKLIN.

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735. TO THE MARQUIS DE CONDORCET

(A. P. S.)

London, March 20, 1774.

SIR,

I am ashamed that my late continued *Embarras* in public Affairs should have so long prevented my answering the Letter you honoured me with, of the 2d Decr last.

I transmitted your Queries to our Society at Philadelphia, where they will be well considered, and full Answers will be sent you. On my Return thither, which I am now preparing for, I shall take care, if not done, to urge the doing it as soon as possible.

In the mean time, I can inform you, as to Qu. 1, that, tho there is in Pensilvania abundance of Limestone and Marble, no Flint has yet been found there by the English;

[1] Here the rough draft (A. P. S.) abruptly ends. The editors have noted that "the remainder of the letter is lost." The concluding words in the text are from Prospero Balbo's translation of the original letter (Turin, 1783). — ED.

yet it is supposed, that Flint is to be met with in some Part of the Country, since Heads of Arrows made of it by the ancient Inhabitants are sometimes found in Ploughing the Fields. That, small Sea Shells are found intermix'd with the Substance of Rock-Stone in some of our highest Mountains, and such I think as are not now to be met with on our Coasts. Several Skeletons, suppos'd by their Tusks etc. to be of Elephants, have been found near the Ohio, an Acc[t] of which may be found in the English Philos. Transactions.

As to Qu. 2, Observations have been made in America of the Variation of the Needle, and, as well as I can remember, it is found to differ a Degree in about 20 Years.

As to Qu. 3; the Height of the Barometer, by many Years' Observation, is said to vary between 28 ·59 and 30 ·78. The Conjectures from those Changes are still uncertain.

As to Qu. 4. The Negroes, who are free, live among the White People, but are generally improvident and poor. I think they are not deficient in natural Understanding, but they have not the Advantage of Education. They make good Musicians.

As to Qu. 5; I do not know that any Marks of Volcanos, any Lava, or Pomice-Stone, have been met with in North America. Pit-Coal is found in many Places, and very good, but little used, there being plenty of Wood.

These Answers are very short. I hope to procure you such as shall be more full and satisfactory.

With great Respect, I have the Honour to be, Sir, &c.

B. F[RANKLIN.]

736. TO THOMAS CUSHING (P. R. O.)

London, March 22, 1774.

SIR: — I received your Favour of Jan. 23d. I suppose we never had since we were a People so few Friends in Britain. The violent Destruction of the Tea seems to have united all Parties here against our Province, so that the Bill now brought into Parliament for shutting up Boston as a Port till Satisfaction is made, meets with no Opposition. An Alteration in our Charter relating to the Choice of the Council is also talked of, but it is not certain that it will be propos'd at present. I cannot but hope that the Affair of the Tea will have been considered in the Assembly before this time, and Satisfaction proposed if not made; for such a Step will remove much of the Prejudice now entertain'd against us, and put us again on a fair Footing in contending for our old Privileges as Occasion may require. I am not well enough to bustle or to write much, and can only add my best Wishes for the Prosperity of my Country.

With great Respect and Esteem, I have the Honour to be, Sir,

Your most obed^{t}. humb^{le} Servt.

B. FRANKLIN.

P.S. — By the Enquiries that I hear are made, I suspect there may be a Design to seize some Persons who are supposed to be the Ringleaders, and bring them here for Trial.

It is talk'd here that authentic Advices are received assuring Government that Messrs. Hancock and Adams were seen at the Head of the Mob that destroy'd the Tea, openly en-

couraging them. I oppose this Report by alledging the Improbability that, when the lower Actors tho't it prudent to disguise themselves, any of the principal Inhabitants should appear in the Affair.

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737. TO THOMAS CUSHING (P. R. O.)

London, April 2, 1774.

SIR,

My last was of the 22d past, since which I have received none of your favours. I mentioned that the bill brought into Parliament for punishing Boston met with no opposition. It did, however, meet with a little before it got through, some few of the members speaking against it in the House of Commons, and more in the House of Lords. It passed, however, by a very great majority in both, and received the royal assent on Thursday the 31st past. You will have a copy of it from Mr. Lee.

In mine of February 2d, I informed you, that, after the treatment I had received at the Council Board, it was not possible for me to act longer as your agent, apprehending I could as such be of no further use to the province. I have nevertheless given what assistance I could, as a private man, by speaking to members of both Houses, and by joining in the petitions of the natives of America now happening to be in London, which were ably drawn by Mr. Lee, to be presented separately to the several branches of the legislature. They serve, though without other effect, to show our sentiments, and that we did not look on and let the act pass without bearing our testimony against it. And, indeed, though called

petitions (for under another name they would not have been received) they are rather *remonstrances* and *protests*.

By the enclosed extract of a letter from Wakefield in Yorkshire to a friend of mine, you will see that the manufacturers begin to take the alarm. Another general non-importation agreement is apprehended by them, which would complete their ruin. But great pains are taken to quiet them with the idea, that Boston must immediately submit, and acknowledge the claims of Parliament, for that none of the other colonies will adhere to them. A number of the principal manufacturers from different parts of the kingdom are now in town, to oppose the new duty on foreign linens, which they fear may provoke the Germans to lay discouragements on British manufactures. They have desired me to meet and dine with them on Wednesday next, where I shall have an opportunity of learning their sentiments more fully, and communicating my own.

Some alterations of the constitution of the Massachusetts are now hotly talked of; though what they are to be, seems hardly yet settled. One thing mentioned is the appointment of the Council by *mandamus*. Another, giving power to the governor to appoint magistrates without consent of Council. Another, the abolishing of town meetings, or making it unlawful to hold them, till the business to be proposed has been certified to the governor, and his permission obtained. A motion has also been made in the House of Commons, with a view to conciliate, as is said; that all the duty acts should be revised, and, in the revision and reënacting, without formally or expressly repealing the tea duty (which would hurt the *dignity* of Parliament), sink or omit it, and add an equal value in some of the coasting port duties; and the tea duty,

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being thus taken out of the way, it is supposed will have the salutary effect of preventing the other colonies from making a common cause with ours. Some advantages in trade are at the same time to be given to America for the same purpose, such as carrying wine and fruit directly from Spain and Portugal, without touching in England.

I send enclosed the proceedings of the Lords on Wednesday, which show their zeal in the business, by appointing a committee to sit during the recess in the Easter holidays. With great esteem, I am, Sir, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

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738. TO JOSEPH PRIESTLEY[1]

Craven Street, April 10, 1774.

DEAR SIR,

In compliance with your request, I have endeavoured to recollect the circumstances of the American experiments I formerly mentioned to you, of raising a flame on the surface of some waters there.

When I passed through New Jersey in 1764, I heard it several times mentioned, that, by applying a lighted candle near the surface of some of their rivers, a sudden flame would catch and spread on the water, continuing to burn for near half a minute. But the accounts I received were so imperfect, that I could form no guess at the cause of such an effect, and rather doubted the truth of it. I had no opportunity of seeing the experiment; but, calling to see a friend who happened to be just returning home from making it himself, I

[1] From Priestley's "Experiments on Air" (Vol. I, p. 321), 3d Edition. — ED.

learned from him the manner of it; which was to choose a shallow place, where the bottom could be reached by a walking-stick, and was muddy; the mud was first to be stirred with the stick, and, when a number of small bubbles began to arise from it, the candle was applied. The flame was so sudden and so strong, that it catched his ruffle and spoiled it, as I saw. New Jersey having many pine-trees in many parts of it, I then imagined that something like a volatile oil of turpentine might be mixed with the waters from a pine-swamp, but this supposition did not quite satisfy me. I mentioned the fact to some philosophical friends on my return to England, but it was not much attended to. I suppose I was thought a little too credulous.

In 1765, the Reverend Dr. Chandler received a letter from Dr. Finley,[1] President of the College in that province, relating the same experiment. It was read at the Royal Society, November 21st of that year, but not printed in the Transactions; perhaps because it was thought too strange to be true, and some ridicule might be apprehended, if any member should attempt to repeat it, in order to ascertain, or refute it. The following is a copy of that account.

"A worthy gentleman, who lives at a few miles distance, informed me, that in a certain small cove of a mill-pond, near his house, he was surprised to see the surface of the water blaze like inflamed spirits. I soon after went to the place, and made the experiment with the same success. The bottom of the creek was muddy, and when stirred up, so as to cause a considerable curl on the surface, and a lighted candle held within two or three inches of it, the whole surface was in a

[1] Samuel Finley (1715–1766) succeeded Samuel Davies as President of Princeton in July, 1761. — Ed.

blaze, as instantly as the vapour of warm inflammable spirits, and continued, when strongly agitated, for the space of several seconds. It was at first imagined to be peculiar to that place; but upon trial it was soon found, that such a bottom in other places exhibited the same phenomenon. The discovery was accidentally made by one belonging to the mill."

I have tried the experiment twice here in England, but without success. The first was in a slow running water with a muddy bottom. The second in a stagnant water at the bottom of a deep ditch. Being some time employed in stirring this water, I ascribed an intermitting fever, which seized me a few days after, to my breathing too much of that foul air, which I stirred up from the bottom, and which I could not avoid while I stooped, endeavouring to kindle it. The discoveries you have lately made, of the manner in which inflammable air is in some cases produced, may throw light on this experiment, and explain its succeeding in some cases, and not in others.

With the highest esteem, and respect

I am, dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

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739. TO THOMAS CUSHING (P. R. O.)

London, April 16. 1774.

SIR: — The above are Copies of my two last. The Torrent is still violent against America. A Bill is brought in to alter the Charter appointing the Council by the Crown, giving Power to the Governors to nominate and commission Magis-

trates without Consent of Council, and Forbidding any Town Meeting to be held in the Province (except the annual one for chusing Town Officers) without the Permission of the Governor, and for that Business only for which such Permission shall be requested. The Manner of appointing Jurors is likewise to be altered. And another Bill is to provide for the Security of Persons who may be concern'd in executing or enforcing Acts of Parliament there, by directing their Trials for any thing done by them to be in some neighbouring Province or in Great Britain at the Discretion of the Governor. I hope to get the Breviates of these Bills in time to send by this Ship. They will meet with Opposition in both Houses; but there is little Hope that they will not pass, we having very few Friends in Parliament at present. The House will probably sit 'till some time in June, perhaps longer, and till they hear the Effect of these Measures in America. I think to stay here as long as they sit, Mr Lee being about to go abroad for a few Months. General Gage has been hastily commission'd and sent away to be your Governor. It is given out that Copies of several Letters of mine to you are sent over here to the Ministers, and that their Contents are treasonable, for which I should be prosecuted if Copies could be made Evidence. I am not conscious of any treasonable Intention, and I know that much Violence must be us'd with my Letters before they can be construed into Treason, yet having lately seen two of my Actions, one my Endeavour to lessen the Differences between the two Countries, the other to stop a dangerous Quarrel between Individuals, and which I should have thought and still think to be good Actions, condemn'd as bad ones by high Authority, I am not to wonder if less than a small Lump in my

yet it is supposed, that Flint is to be met with in some Part of the Country, since Heads of Arrows made of it by the ancient Inhabitants are sometimes found in Ploughing the Fields. That, small Sea Shells are found intermix'd with the Substance of Rock-Stone in some of our highest Mountains, and such I think as are not now to be met with on our Coasts. Several Skeletons, suppos'd by their Tusks etc. to be of Elephants, have been found near the Ohio, an Acc[t] of which may be found in the English Philos. Transactions.

As to Qu. 2, Observations have been made in America of the Variation of the Needle, and, as well as I can remember, it is found to differ a Degree in about 20 Years.

As to Qu. 3; the Height of the Barometer, by many Years' Observation, is said to vary between 28 ·59 and 30 ·78. The Conjectures from those Changes are still uncertain.

As to Qu. 4. The Negroes, who are free, live among the White People, but are generally improvident and poor. I think they are not deficient in natural Understanding, but they have not the Advantage of Education. They make good Musicians.

As to Qu. 5; I do not know that any Marks of Volcanos, any Lava, or Pomice-Stone, have been met with in North America. Pit-Coal is found in many Places, and very good, but little used, there being plenty of Wood.

These Answers are very short. I hope to procure you such as shall be more full and satisfactory.

With great Respect, I have the Honour to be, Sir, &c.

B. F[RANKLIN.]

736. TO THOMAS CUSHING (P. R. O.)

London, March 22, 1774.

Sir: — I received your Favour of Jan. 23d. I suppose we never had since we were a People so few Friends in Britain. The violent Destruction of the Tea seems to have united all Parties here against our Province, so that the Bill now brought into Parliament for shutting up Boston as a Port till Satisfaction is made, meets with no Opposition. An Alteration in our Charter relating to the Choice of the Council is also talked of, but it is not certain that it will be propos'd at present. I cannot but hope that the Affair of the Tea will have been considered in the Assembly before this time, and Satisfaction proposed if not made; for such a Step will remove much of the Prejudice now entertain'd against us, and put us again on a fair Footing in contending for our old Privileges as Occasion may require. I am not well enough to bustle or to write much, and can only add my best Wishes for the Prosperity of my Country.

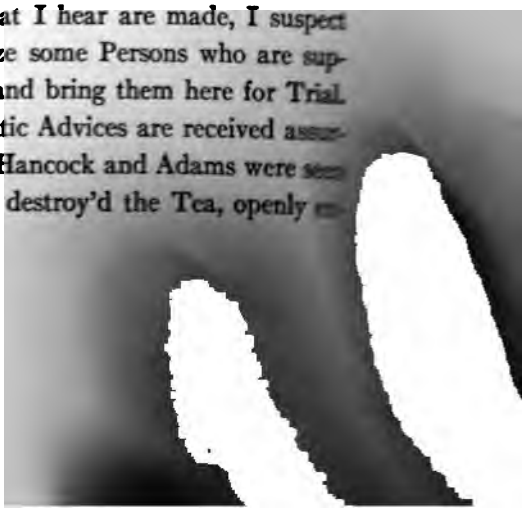
With great Respect and Esteem, I have the Honour to be, Sir,

Your most obed^{t}. humb^{le} Servt.

B. Franklin.

P.S. — By the Enquiries that I hear are made, I suspect there may be a Design to seize some Persons who are supposed to be the Ringleaders, and bring them here for Trial.

It is talk'd here that authentic Advices are received assuring Government that Messrs. Hancock and Adams were seen at the Head of the Mob that destroy'd the Tea, openly en-



couraging them. I oppose this Report by alledging the Improbability that, when the lower Actors tho't it prudent to disguise themselves, any of the principal Inhabitants should appear in the Affair.

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737. TO THOMAS CUSHING (P. R. O.)

London, April 2, 1774.

SIR,

My last was of the 22d past, since which I have received none of your favours. I mentioned that the bill brought into Parliament for punishing Boston met with no opposition. It did, however, meet with a little before it got through, some few of the members speaking against it in the House of Commons, and more in the House of Lords. It passed, however, by a very great majority in both, and received the royal assent on Thursday the 31st past. You will have a copy of it from Mr. Lee.

In mine of February 2d, I informed you, that, after the treatment I had received at the Council Board, it was not possible for me to act longer as your agent, apprehending I could as such be of no further use to the province. I have nevertheless given what assistance I could, as a private man, by speaking to members of both Houses, and by joining in the petitions of the natives of America now happening to be in London, which were ably drawn by Mr. Lee, to be presented separately to the several branches of the legislature. They serve, though without other effect, to show our sentiments, and that we did not look on and let the act pass without bearing our testimony against it. And, indeed, though called

petitions (for under another name they would not have been received) they are rather *remonstrances* and *protests*.

By the enclosed extract of a letter from Wakefield in Yorkshire to a friend of mine, you will see that the manufacturers begin to take the alarm. Another general non-importation agreement is apprehended by them, which would complete their ruin. But great pains are taken to quiet them with the idea, that Boston must immediately submit, and acknowledge the claims of Parliament, for that none of the other colonies will adhere to them. A number of the principal manufacturers from different parts of the kingdom are now in town, to oppose the new duty on foreign linens, which they fear may provoke the Germans to lay discouragements on British manufactures. They have desired me to meet and dine with them on Wednesday next, where I shall have an opportunity of learning their sentiments more fully, and communicating my own.

Some alterations of the constitution of the Massachusetts are now hotly talked of; though what they are to be, seems hardly yet settled. One thing mentioned is the appointment of the Council by *mandamus*. Another, giving power to the governor to appoint magistrates without consent of Council. Another, the abolishing of town meetings, or making it unlawful to hold them, till the business to be proposed has been certified to the governor, and his permission obtained. A motion has also been made in the House of Commons, with a view to conciliate, as is said; that all the duty acts should be revised, and, in the revision and reënacting, without formally or expressly repealing the tea duty (which would hurt the *dignity* of Parliament), sink or omit it, and add an equal value in some of the coasting port duties; and the tea duty,

[illegible] will have the [illegible] from making a [illegible] with me. Some advantages in trade are at the same time to be given to America for the same purpose, such as carrying wine and fruit directly from Spain and Portugal without touching at England.

I send enclosed the proceedings of the Lords on Wednesday, which show their zeal in the business, by appointing a committee to sit during the recess in the Easter holidays. With great esteem, I am, Sir, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

TO JOSEPH PRIESTLEY[1]

Craven Street, April 10, 1774.

DEAR SIR,

In compliance with your request, I have endeavoured to recollect the circumstances of the American experiments I formerly mentioned to you, of raising a flame on the surface of some waters there.

When I passed through New Jersey in 1764, I heard it several times mentioned, that, by applying a lighted candle near the surface of some of their rivers, a sudden flame would catch and spread on the water, continuing to burn for near half a minute. But the accounts I received were so imperfect, that I could form no guess at the cause of such an effect, and rather doubted the truth of it. I had no opportunity of seeing the experiment: but, calling to see a friend who happened to be just returning home from making it himself, I

[1] From Priestley's "Experiments on Air," Vol. I, p. 311, 3d Edition. — Ed.

learned from him the manner of it; which was to choose a shallow place, where the bottom could be reached by a walking-stick, and was muddy; the mud was first to be stirred with the stick, and, when a number of small bubbles began to arise from it, the candle was applied. The flame was so sudden and so strong, that it catched his ruffle and spoiled it, as I saw. New Jersey having many pine-trees in many parts of it, I then imagined that something like a volatile oil of turpentine might be mixed with the waters from a pine-swamp, but this supposition did not quite satisfy me. I mentioned the fact to some philosophical friends on my return to England, but it was not much attended to. I suppose I was thought a little too credulous.

In 1765, the Reverend Dr. Chandler received a letter from Dr. Finley,[1] President of the College in that province, relating the same experiment. It was read at the Royal Society, November 21st of that year, but not printed in the Transactions; perhaps because it was thought too strange to be true, and some ridicule might be apprehended, if any member should attempt to repeat it, in order to ascertain, or refute it. The following is a copy of that account.

"A worthy gentleman, who lives at a few miles distance, informed me, that in a certain small cove of a mill-pond, near his house, he was surprised to see the surface of the water blaze like inflamed spirits. I soon after went to the place, and made the experiment with the same success. The bottom of the creek was muddy, and when stirred up, so as to cause a considerable curl on the surface, and a lighted candle held within two or three inches of it, the whole surface was in a

[1] Samuel Finley (1715–1766) succeeded Samuel Davies as President of Princeton in July, 1761. — ED.

yet it is supposed, that Flint is to be met with in some Part of the Country, since Heads of Arrows made of it by the ancient Inhabitants are sometimes found in Ploughing the Fields. That, small Sea Shells are found intermix'd with the Substance of Rock-Stone in some of our highest Mountains, and such I think as are not now to be met with on our Coasts. Several Skeletons, suppos'd by their Tusks etc. to be of Elephants, have been found near the Ohio, an Acc[t] of which may be found in the English Philos. Transactions.

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As to Qu. 5; I do not know that any Marks of Volcanos, any Lava, or Pomice-Stone, have been met with in North America. Pit-Coal is found in many Places, and very good, but little used, there being plenty of Wood.

These Answers are very short. I hope to procure you such as shall be more full and satisfactory.

With great Respect, I have the Honour to be, Sir, &c.

B. F[RANKLIN.]

736. TO THOMAS CUSHING (P. R. O.)

London, March 22, 1774.

SIR: — I received your Favour of Jan. 23d. I suppose we never had since we were a People so few Friends in Britain. The violent Destruction of the Tea seems to have united all Parties here against our Province, so that the Bill now brought into Parliament for shutting up Boston as a Port till Satisfaction is made, meets with no Opposition. An Alteration in our Charter relating to the Choice of the Council is also talked of, but it is not certain that it will be propos'd at present. I cannot but hope that the Affair of the Tea will have been considered in the Assembly before this time, and Satisfaction proposed if not made; for such a Step will remove much of the Prejudice now entertain'd against us, and put us again on a fair Footing in contending for our old Privileges as Occasion may require. I am not well enough to bustle or to write much, and can only add my best Wishes for the Prosperity of my Country.

With great Respect and Esteem, I have the Honour to be, Sir,

Your most obed^{t}. humb^{le} Servt.

B. FRANKLIN.

P.S. — By the Enquiries that I hear are made, I suspect there may be a Design to seize some Persons who are supposed to be the Ringleaders, and bring them here for Trial.

It is talk'd here that authentic Advices are received assuring Government that Messrs. Hancock and Adams were seen at the Head of the Mob that destroy'd the Tea, openly en-

Lord Chatham, being ill at the Time, could not be present, or he would probably have voted on the same side. He has since appeared in the House, and delivered his Sentiments fully on the American Measures, blam'd us for destroying the Tea, and our Declarations of Independence on the Parliament; but condemn'd strongly the Measures taking here in consequence, and spoke honourably of our Province and People, & of their Conduct in the late War.

Mr. Lee is gone to make the Tour of France and Italy, and probably will be absent near a Year. Just before his Departure he drew up, at my Instance, a kind of Answer to the Lords' Committee's Report, for which I furnish'd him with most of the Materials. I enclose a Copy of it. I had resign'd your Agency to him, expecting to leave England about the end of this Month; but on his Departure he has return'd me all the Papers, and I feel myself now under a kind of Necessity of Continuing, till you can be acquainted with this Circumstance, and have time to give further Orders.

I shall apply to Lord Dartmouth, agreable to the Directions of the hon^{ble} Committee, and write to them fully, as soon as I have his Lordship's Answer.

Your friendly Concern on my Account, lest the Project for a Subscription PostOffice in America should prove prejudicial to me, is very obliging; but you must have learnt before this time, that it was then superfluous, my Place having been taken from me on the 31st of January. As the Salary I received in that Office is now ceas'd, and I have been lately at near £200 Expence, on the Province Acc^{t} in various Ways, I am now oblig'd to request, that some Means may be fallen upon of making me a Remittance here; for I have little Expectation that the Instruction will be recall'd

on my Application. With great esteem, I have the honour to be, Sir, &c. B. FRANKLIN.

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742. TO REV. THOMAS COOMBE (A. P. S.)

London, July 22, 1774.

DEAR FRIEND,

I received with great Pleasure yours of May 15, as it inform'd me of your Health & Happiness. I thank you for your Sermon, which I read with Satisfaction. I am glad that of my good Bishop [1] pleas'd you. I enclose a Speech of his on the same subject. It is deem'd here a Masterpiece of Eloquence. I send also the last Edition of some Lines of your friend Goldsmith, with the Addition of my friend Whitefoord's Epitaph, whom you may remember. Also the *Heroic Postscript*, the author of which is yet unknown.[2] He may be fond of Fame as a Poet; but, if he is, his Prudence predominates at present, and prevails with him to shun it.

That which you are acquiring, as an Orator, gives me Pleasure as your Friend; and it will give you yourself the most solid Satisfaction, if you find that by your Eloquence you can turn many to Righteousness. Without that effect, the Preacher or the Priest, in my Opinion, is not merely sounding Brass or a tinkling Cymbal, which are innocent Things; he is rather like the Cunning Man in the Old Baily, who conjures and tells Fools their Fortunes to cheat them out of their Money.

Mrs. Stevenson and Mrs. Hewson return your Compli-

[1] Bishop of St. Asaph. — ED.

[2] It was written by William Mason (1724-1797). — ED.

ments, with their best Wishes. We have lost Mr. Hewson, and a great Loss it was. My respects to your good Father. Adieu, my dear friend, and believe me ever yours most affectionately, B. FRANKLIN.

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743. TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN (A. P. S.)

London, July 22, 1774.

MY DEAR CHILD,

I have had no Line from you by several late Opportunities. I flatter myself it is owing not to Indisposition, but to the Opinion of my having left England, which indeed I hope soon to do. Mr. Dillwyn tells me he never saw so fine a Child as your youngest Grandson: Has he eclips'd poor Ben? of whose pretty History I us'd to receive so many folio Pages in your Letters.

I enclose a Letter I have just receiv'd from your God-Daughter, Amelia Evans that was (now Barry). I wrote to you before, that she had marry'd the Captain of a Ship in the Levant Trade. She is now again at Tunis, where you will see she has lately lain in of her third Child. Her Father, you know, was a geographer,[1] and his daughter has some connection, I think, with the whole Globe; being born herself in America, and having her first Child in Asia, her second in Europe, and now her third in Africa.

Mrs. Stevenson presents her best Respects. She too is very happy in her two Grandsons. Her Daughter, our poor Polly, who lately lost her good Husband, is become rich by

[1] Lewis Evans of Philadelphia, a surveyor, and author of maps and geographical writings. — ED.

the Death of her Aunt. I am ever, my dear Debby, your affectionate husband, B. FRANKLIN.

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744. TO BENJAMIN RUSH (A. P. S.)

London, July 22, 1774.

DEAR SIR,

I receiv'd your Favour of May 14. with the very ingenious Oration[1] you deliver'd at the Society, for which I thank you. The Bookseller you had likewise sent it to, Mr Dilly, being desirous of Dr Huck's Opinion & mine as to its Publication, we had a little Consultation upon it; the Result of which was, that tho' the Piece had in many Respects a great deal of Merit, yet as there were some Particulars that would be excepted to by the medical People here, many of whom are in the Royal Society & have great Weight there; and as the Society generally is of late grown more difficult in the Admission of new Members, several Candidates being this last year rejected, and a Criticism to the Disadvantage of your Piece in the Reviews or otherways might prejudice some Votes against you; we thought it best the Publication should be postpon'd till after the Ballot for your Election; it being intended by us to put you up as a Candidate at the next meeting of the Society, which will be in November, and we were unwilling to hazard your being refus'd, as it would be better not to propose you, than to do it without a moral Certainty of Success. — We therefore advis'd the Bookseller not to print it till Winter, which he the more readily agreed to, as that is the best Season for publishing. — You

[1] "Natural History of Medicine among the Indians of North America." — ED.

compliment me too highly in supposing a Preface of mine would be of any Advantage to it

. . . . . .

Wishing you all sorts of Happiness, I am ever,
Dear Sir,

Your affectionate Friend
& most obed[t] Servant

B. FRANKLIN.

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745. TO BENJAMIN RUSH (A. P. S.)

London July 25. 1774

DEAR SIR

I have already written to you as a Friend by this Conveyance. I now write to you as one of the Secretaries of our Philosophical Society, who understands French, to request your Attention to the enclos'd Papers and that you would translate them for the Use of the Society.

In this Ship, Capt. Falconer, I send a Box, containing a Number of Presents for the Society, from different Hands, in Books and Pamphlets on Philosophical Subjects. The most magnificent is that from M. Buffon, being his Natural History of Birds, as far as published. The whole was in Sheets. The Letter-Press part is not yet finished of all of them: So I have bound Compleatly only the two first Volumes. The others being Plates, I thought it best to keep them together by a half-binding till the descriptive Part should be obtained. With this Present came the enclosed Directions for preserving Subjects of Natural History; from whence I conclude some Returns in that way may be expected and I believe it will be thought proper to attend to it.

There is a Volume of their Memoirs from the Prussian Academy of Sciences. And some of the Transactions from the Royal Society here, who have directed them to be constantly sent you from the time you first sent them yours. Let me know if these are regular. I suspect that one Volume is sent twice, and that one is omitted.

Methinks a Line or two of Thanks would be proper from the Society to each Benefactor.

I wish to procure Answers to as many of the Marquis de Condorcet's Questions as may be. He is a very respectable Man, and one of the Secretaries of the Academy of Sciences at Paris.

I took the Liberty last Year of recommending to the Society for Election as a Member, our Friend (and a Zealous Friend of America) M. Barbeu Dubourg of Paris. I have never heard whether it was done or not. You know his Merit in Science to be such as would do honour to any Society in Europe. Is it possible there could arise any Objection to his Admission?

By some Proposals I put into the Box, you will see that an Edition of the English Philosophical Transactions at large, and from the Beginning, is printing by Subscription in Germany. A Proof, this, of the growing Acquaintance with our Language among the foreign Literati. Nine Volumes are already printed, and sold at half the Price of the English Edition, which is indeed hard to be got.

Present my Respects to the Society, and best Wishes for their Success; and believe me, with sincere Esteem

Dear Sir

Your most obedient humble Servant

B. FRANKLIN

746. TO THOMAS CUSHING (P. R. O.)

London, July 27, 1774.

SIR: — The last Line I have been favour'd with from you is of the 30th of April. I have since written to you several times. I hope our Correspondence is not intercepted.

This serves to cover a Pamphlet or two just published here, of which I shall send you a Number, as I think it may be of Use in America to see what Sentiments are entertain'd here; and believing they may be of Use here, I have been at some Expence in promoting the Publication. With great Respect, I am, Sir

Your most obedient
humble Servant

B. FRANKLIN.

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747. TO THOMAS CUSHING (L. L.)

London, Sept. 3. 1774

SIR

It is a long time since I have been favoured by a Line from you. I suppose you thought me on my return to America, & that your Letters would probably not reach me here: But I have been advised by our Friends to stay till the Result of your Congress should arrive. The Coolness, Temper, & Firmness of the American Proceedings; the Unanimity of all the Colonies, in the same Sentiments of their Rights, & of the Injustice offered to Boston; and the Patience with which those Injuries are at Present borne, without the least Appearance of Submission; have a good deal surprized and

disappointed our Enemies, and the Tone of Publick Conversation, which has been violently against us, begins evidently to turne; so that I make no doubt that before the meeting of Parliament it will be as general in our Favour. All who know well the State of things here, agree, that if the Non Consumption Agreement should become general, and be firmly adhered to, this Ministry must be ruined, and our Friends succeed them, from whom we may hope a great Constitutional Charter to be confirmed by King, Lords, & Commons, whereby our Liberties shall be recognized and established, as the only sure Foundation of that Union so necessary for our Common welfare. You will see a stronger Opposition in our Favour at the next Meeting of Parliament than appear'd in the last: But as I have said in former Letters, we should depend chiefly upon ourselves. — The Uncertainty of safe Conveyance prevents my being more particular or adding more at present, than that I am, with the sincerest Esteem & Respect —

Sir

Your most obedient

humble Servant

B. FRANKLIN

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748. TO WILLIAM FRANKLIN [1] (B. M.)

London, Sept. 7, 1774.

DEAR SON,

I received yours of July 3, from New York, with the Bill of Exchange for Forty Pounds, Cobham on Bond & Ryland, which is carried to the Credit of your Account.

[1] Sparks printed this letter from an imperfect and fragmentary draft in A. P. S. — ED.

I have spoken in Mr. Antill's Favour; but there seems to have been a previous Disposition of those Places.

At the Time of making up the Mail for the August Packet I was down at Lord Le Despencer's, and wrote the above Letter to you from thence, frank'd by his Lordship. A week after the Packet had sail'd my Letter was returned to me, having been, by a Blunder at the Office, sent to Burlington, in Yorkshire. I have now open'd it to add this, and send it re-seal'd to have the Benefit of the same Frank.

I am glad you have met with my Friend Barrow. I wish you to cultivate his Acquaintance, and Mrs. Barrow's, who is a good and amiable Woman.

I am much oblig'd to Mr. Panton for his Information relating to Mr. Parker's Affairs. Cousin Jonathan Williams, an expert and accurate Accomptant, is now with me, and engag'd in posting and settling my Accounts, which will be done before the next Packet, when I shall send what concern'd Parker's. In the meantime I think it cannot be amiss for you or Mr. Bache to accept any Security Mrs. Parker is willing to give. (You mention some Lands.) I think I gave a power to Mr. Bache.

You say my Presence is wish'd for at the Congress, but no Person besides in America has given me the least Intimation of such a Desire; and it is thought by the great Friends of the Colonies here, that I ought to stay till the Result of the Congress arrives, when my Presence here may be of Use. In my Opinion all depends on the Americans themselves. If they make, & keep firm Resolutions not to consume British Manufactures till their Grievances are redress'd and their Rights acknowledged, this Ministry must fall, and the aggrieving Laws be repeal'd. This is the Opinion of all wise men here.

I hear nothing of the Proposal you have made for a Congress of Governors etc. I do not so much as you do wonder that the Massachusetts have not offered Payment for the Tea: 1. Because of the uncertainty of the Act, which gives them no surety that the Port shall be opened on their making that Payment. 2, no specific Sum is demanded. 3, no one knows what will satisfy the Custom-house Officers, nor who the "others" are, that must be satisfied; nor what will satisfy them. And 4, after all they are in the King's Power, how much of the Port shall be opened. As to "doing Justice before they ask it," that should have been thought of by the Legislature here, before they demanded it of the Bostonians. They have extorted many Thousand Pounds from America unconstitutionally, under Colour of Acts of Parliament, and with an armed Force. Of this Money they ought to make Restitution. They might first have taken out Payment for the Tea, &c. and return'd the Rest. But you, who are a thorough Courtier, see every thing with Government Eyes.

I am sorry for the loss of Sir W. Johnson, especially at this time of danger from an Indian War.[1] I see by the Papers that you were with him at the time. Mr. Parker of Amboy, has written to Mr. Wilmot that the King's Approbation of the Boundary Act is not arriv'd. I sent Duplicates of it last Winter to Messrs Kinsey & Hewlings: one by the Packet, the other by a Philadelphia Ship. As you know they have receiv'd them, may request Mr. Kinsey to acknowledge the Receipt of them to Mr. Parker.

A fresh Memorial has lately been presented on the Ohio

[1] Sir William Johnson died at the place of his residence, near the Mohawk River, on the 11th of July, 1774. — S.

Affair. The Event still uncertain, But Mr. Walpole continues confident that sooner or later it must succeed.

A Spanish War is now seriously apprehended here, and the Stocks of course are falling. The Aug. Packet is hourly expected, when I hope to hear of your safe Return & Health. With love to Betsey I am ever

Your affectionate Father,

B. FRANKLIN.

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749. TO SAMUEL TUCKER, AND OTHERS[1]

(A. P. S.)

London, Sept. 7. 1774.

GENTLEMEN,

I have just received two of your Favours of July 26. — requiring my attention to the Several Acts of your Assembly passed the last Session, & Endeavours to obtain the Royal Approbation of them. This Instruction I shall most certainly observe, and it will be a great pleasure to me if I meet with the Success you wish. —

I hope to receive by the next Ship printed Copies of the Acts. It is well always to furnish your Agent with them early; and also with the votes, as they are sometimes of Service in explaining an Act & removing Objections. — The votes of the last Session I have been favour'd with by Mr. Dillwyn.

I shall also endeavour to give you the earliest Intelligence of every publick Measure here that may any way affect the Liberties of America. Probably nothing of the kind will occur till the Meeting of Parliament, but that it is said will

[1] Addressed to Samuel Tucker, Jon[a] Mehelm, Robert Friend Price, Henry Paxson and Jo. Kinsey. — ED.

be early in November. The result of your Congress is impatiently waited for here. Unanimity and firmness will do everything for you.

The kind & friendly Sentiments you express towards me are extreamly obliging. Accept my thankful Acknowledgments, & be assured of my faithful Attachment to the public Interests of your Province, and of the Sincere Respect with which I am,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient
humble Servant,

B. F.

A speedy War with Spain is expected.

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750. TO PETER TIMOTHY[1] (A. P. S.)

London, Sept. 7. 1774

DEAR SIR,

I received your Favour of May 26, and am much oblig'd by your kind Invitation to your House, which I should certainly accept with Pleasure, if I should ever go to Carolina.

You wish me to correspond with you on publick Affairs. Those relating to America have been, and still continue, in so disagreable a Situation, that I cannot write upon them with Pleasure. Much depends on yourselves. If at the intended congress your Deputies are nearly unanimous in declaring your Rights, and in resolving firmly against all Importations from hence till those Rights are acknowledged here, you cannot well fail of carrying your Point. This Ministry

[1] A printer of Charleston, South Carolina, who from 1768 corresponded with Franklin upon topics of politics and commerce. — ED.

must go out, and give Place to Men of juster and more generous Principles. If you divide, you are lost.

I believe I shall stay here another Winter, and shall be glad to hear of the Welfare of you and yours. My Love and Blessing to my little Namesake. If you send me any of your papers per Packet, I shall receive them free of Expence; for, tho' I now pay for my Letters, they do not charge me for Newspapers. I am ever, dear Sir,

Your affectionate humble Serv[t]

B. FRANKLIN.

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751. TO THOMAS CUSHING (P. R. O.)

London, September 15 1774

SIR: — I received last week only, your Favour of June 27, and I have received no other from you since that of April 30. You complain of hearing seldom from me, and yet I have written oftener this year than ever before. I apprehend our Letters are intercepted. I hope you have received mine of June 1, for in that you will find the Dates of many of the Letters I had written before that time; and I wish that for the future you would be so good as to mention the Dates of those you receive, as I shall always do for your Satisfaction of those I receive from you.

I rejoice to find that the whole Continent have so justly, wisely and unanimously taken up our Cause as their own. This is an unexpected Blow to the Ministry, who rely'd on our being neglected by every other Colony; this they depended on as another Circumstance that must force our immediate Submission, of which they were likewise perfectly

sure. They are now a little disconcerted, but I hear yet from that Quarter no talk of retreating or changing of Measures. The Language of those about the Court rather is that the King must now go on, whatever may be the Consequence. On the other hand, our Friends are increasing and endeavouring to *unite*. I have been taking pains among them, to show the Mischief that must arise to the Whole from a Dismembring of the Empire, which all the Measures of the present mad Administration have a Tendency to accomplish, and which can only be prevented by such a Union of the Friends of Liberty in both Houses as will compell a Change of that Administration and those Measures. I must not now relate to you with whom I have conferr'd, nor the Conversations I have had on this Subject, lest my Letter fall into wrong Hands; but I may say I have reason to think a strong Push will be made at the very beginning of the Session to have all the late Acts revers'd, and a solemn Assurance given America that no future Attempts shall be made to tax us without our Consent. Much depends on the Proceedings of the Congress. All sides are Enquiring when an Account of them may be expected. And I am advis'd by no means to leave England till they arrive. Their Unanimity and Firmness will have great Weight here, and probably unhorse the present wild Riders.

I inclose a Copy of mine mention'd above. Since that Date I have written several short Letters to you, including the Bishop of St. Asaph's Speech (which is admired here as a Masterpiece of Eloquence and Wisdom), an Address to Protestant Dissenters, and sundry other Pieces and Papers that I have been instrumental in Writing, Printing, or Publishing here. It would encourage me, if you could find time to ac-

knowledge the Receipt of such things, and let me know how they were approved. Nothing material has pass'd here in publick Affairs since the Rising of Parliament. Great Preparations are now making for the Election of a new One; and a War with Spain is apprehended, but will be avoided if possible.

I am, Sir, with great Esteem and Respect, your most obedient humble Servant,

B. FRANKLIN

P. S. — The Bishop's Speech has had four Editions, the last of 5,000 Number.

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752. TO MRS. JANE MECOM[1]

London, September 26, 1774.

DEAR SISTER,

I hope you continue in health, as I do, thanks to God. But I wish to know how you fare in the present distress of our dear country. I am apprehensive, that the letters between us, though very innocent ones, are intercepted. They might restore to me yours at least, after reading them; especially as I never complain of broken, patched-up seals (of late very common), because I know not on whom to fix the fact.

I see in a Boston paper of August 18th, an article expressing, "that it is generally believed Dr. Franklin has received a promise of being restored to the royal favour, and promoted to an office superior to that which he resigned." I have made no public answer to any of the abuses I have received

[1] From "A Collection of the Familiar Letters and Miscellaneous Papers of Benjamin Franklin" (Sparks), 1833, p. 150. — ED.

in the papers here, nor shall I to this. But as I am anxious to preserve your good opinion, and as I know your sentiments, and that you must be much afflicted yourself, and even despise me, if you thought me capable of accepting any office from this government, while it is acting with so much hostility towards my native country, I cannot miss this first opportunity of assuring you, that there is not the least foundation for such a report; that, so far from having any promise of royal favour, I hear of nothing but royal and ministerial displeasure; which, indeed, as things at present stand, I consider as an honour. I have seen no minister since January, nor had the least communication with them. The generous and noble friends of America in both Houses do indeed favour me with their notice and regard; but they are in disgrace at court, as well as myself. Be satisfied, that I shall do nothing to lessen me in your esteem, or my own. I shall not, by the least concurrence with the present measures, merit any court favour, nor accept of any, if it were offered me, which, however, is not at all likely to happen.

As those here, who most interest themselves in behalf of America, conceive, that my being present at the arrival of the proceedings of the Congress and the meeting of Parliament may be of use, I submit to their judgment, and think it now likely, that I shall not return till spring. I am ever, &c. B. FRANKLIN.

753. TO THOMAS CUSHING (P. R. O.)

London, September 27. 1774

SIR: — I wrote to you lately by the Boston Packet, Capt. Shepherd, and by several preceding Conveyances. I should

be glad to hear from you what Letters of mine came to your hands, as I suspect they are often intercepted.

The Ministers have for some time been out of town, as well as those of both Houses who are Friends of America. But the latter have frequent Communications, for the purpose of dropping their private Misunderstandings, and uniting in the public Cause, which at present needs all their joint Assistance, since a Breach with America, hazarded by the late harsh Measures, may be ruinous to the general Welfare of the British Empire. In forwarding this good Work among them, as far as my little Endeavours may amount to, I have been for sometime industriously engaged. I see some Letters in your Newspapers, said to be written from hence, which represent Lord Chatham as having deserted your cause. I can of my own certain Knowledge assure you of the contrary, and that his Sentiments are such as you could wish. It was thought the Parliament would meet in November; but the Talk now is, that it will be further prorogu'd till January, that Government may be in full Possession of the Proceedings of the Congress, and the Views of the Americans. With great Respect, I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant, B. FRANKLIN.

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754. TO RICHARD BACHE[1]

London, September 30, 1774

DEAR SON,

The bearer, Mr. Thomas Paine, is very well recommended to me, as an ingenious, worthy young man. He goes to Pennsylvania with a view of settling there. I request you

[1] First printed by Sparks.

to give him your best advice and countenance, as he is quite a stranger there. If you can put him in a way of obtaining employment as a clerk, or assistant tutor in a school, or assistant surveyor, (of all which I think him very capable,) so that he may procure a subsistence at least, till he can make acquaintance and obtain a knowledge of the country, you will do well, and much oblige your affectionate father. My love to Sally and the boys.

B. FRANKLIN.

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755. TO THOMAS CUSHING (L. L.)

London, Oct. 6. 1774

SIR,

Since my last to you which went per Capt. Foulger, the Parliament by a sudden & unexpected Resolution in the Cabinet, has been dissolved. Various are the Conjectures as to the Motives; among which one is that some Advices from Boston, importing the Impossibility of carrying on Government there under the late Acts of Parliament, have made it appear necessary that a new Election should be got through before any Ferment arises here among the Manufacturers, which if it happen'd during the Election (as might be expected if the old Parliament had gone on to finish its Term) would probably have been a means of Outing many of the Court Candidates. As yet it does not appear that there is any Intention of Changing Measures: But all intelligent Men are of Opinion, that if the American Congress should resolve on the Non-consumption of the Manufactures of Britain this Ministry must go out, and their late Measures be all reversed. As such a resolution, firmly adher'd to, would

in a peaceable and justifiable Way do every thing for us that we can wish, I am griev'd to hear of Mobs & Violence, and the pulling down the Houses, which our Friends cannot justify, and which give great Advantage against us to our Enemies.

The Electors of the Cities of London & Westminster, the Borough of Southwark, the County of Middlesex, and some other Places, have exacted of their Candidates Engagements under their Hands that they will among other things endeavour a Repeal of the late iniquitous Acts against America, and tis suppos'd the Example of the Metropolis will be follow'd in other Places, and would have been nearly general if the Election had not been thus precipitated. — The Bishop of St. Asaph's intended speech, several Copies of which I send you, and of which many Thousands have been printed and distributed here has had an extraordinary Effect, in changing the Sentiments of Multitudes with regard to America. And when the Result of the Congress arrives, and the Measures they resolve to pursue (which I confide will be wise & good, enter'd into with Unanimity, and persisted in with Firmness) come to be known and consider'd here, I am persuaded our Friends will be multiplied, and our Enemies diminished so as to bring on an Accommodation in which our undoubted Rights shall be acknowledg'd and establish'd. — This, for the common Welfare of the British Empire, I most ardently wish. But I am in perpetual Anxiety lest the mad Measure of mixing Soldiers among a People whose Minds are in such a State of Irritation, may be attended with some sudden Mischief; For an accidental Quarrel, a personal Insult, an imprudent Order, an insolent Execution of even a prudent one, or 20 other things, may produce a Tumult,

unforeseen, and therefore impossible to be prevented, in which such a Carnage may ensue, as to make a Breach that can never afterwards be healed. —

I pray God to Govern everything for the best, and am with the greatest Esteem & Respect,

Sir

Your (and the Committee's)
most obedient
and most humble Servant

B FRANKLIN

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756. TO THOMAS CUSHING (L. L.)

London, Oct. 10. 1774

SIR,

I wrote to you a few Days since, and have little to add. The Election for Lord Mayor ended on Saturday, when Wilkes was chosen by a great Majority both of the Livery & of the Aldermen; and 'tis thought he will carry the Elections of 4 Members for the City, 2 for the Borough of Southwark, 2 for Westminster, and 2 for the County of Middlesex, himself one of the latter; all of whom have subscrib'd an Engagement to endeavour a Repeal of the late Acts against America. But still if the Temper of the Court continues, there will doubtless be a Majority in the new Parliament for its Measures, whatever they are: For as most of the Members are bribing or purchasing to get in, there is little doubt of selling their votes to the Minister for the time being, to reimburse themselves. Luxury introduces necessity even among those that make the most splendid Figures here; this brings most of the Commons as well as Lords to Market;

and if America would save for 3 or 4 Years the Money she spends in Fashions & Fineries & Fopperies of this Country, she might buy the whole Parliament, Minister and all.

It is said 3 ships of the Line are fitting out to join the Fleet at Boston; for what purpose I cannot imagine, since it does not appear that those already there are insufficient to block up that Port.

Some of the ministerial People seeing things turn out in America contrary to what they had been made to expect, begin to blame Hutchinson for misleading them. And Gen. Gage, who when going was talk'd of as a cool prudent Man, & therefore fit for that Service; is now spoken of as peevish, passionate & indiscreet; for which indeed several particulars of his Conduct appear to afford good Grounds. —

All here are impatient to know the Result of your Congress. The two last Letters I have receiv'd from you, are of April 30, and June 27. — I suppose the Expectation of my being on my Way to America has prevented your Writing.

With great Respect, I have the honour to be Sir,

Your most obedient
and most humble Servant

B. FRANKLIN

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757. TO JOSEPH GALLOWAY (A. P. S.)

[London,] Oct. 12. 1774.

DEAR SIR,

I wrote to you on the 1st Inst. by Capt Cook, acquainting you with the Disposition of the Parliament, since which the Elections are going on briskly everywhere for a new one. The Electors of London, Westminster, the Borough of

Southwark, & the County of Middlesex, have obliged their Candidates to sign a written Engagement, that they will endeavour a Repeal of the late oppressive and unconstitutional American Laws, & promote a Reconciliation between the two Countries. Their Example will be followed in some other Places, and 'tis thought would have been pretty general in the trading and manufacturing Towns, if the suddenness of the Dissolution had not hurried things too much.

It being objected to one of the Candidates set up for Westminster, viz Lord Percy, that he is absent on the wicked Business of cutting the Throats of our American Brethren, his Friends have thought it necessary this Morning to publish a Letter of his, expressing that he is upon good Terms with the People of Boston, and much respected by them. These Circumstances show, that the American Cause begins to be more popular here. Yet the Court talk boldly of persisting in their Measures, and 3 Ships of the Line are fitting out for America, which are to be over-mann'd, to have a Double Number of Marines, and several arm'd Tenders. It is rumoured they are to stop all the ports of America.

Many think the new Parliament will be for reversing the late proceedings; but that depends on the Court, on which every Parliament seems to be dependent; so much so, that I begin to think a Parliament here of little Use to the People: For since a Parliament is always to do as a ministry would have it, why should we not be govern'd by the Ministry in the first Instance? They could afford to govern us cheaper, the Parliament being a very expensive Machine, that requires a vast deal of oiling and greasing at the People's Charge; for they finally pay all the enormous Salaries of Places, the Pensions, and the Bribes, now by Custom become

necessary to induce the Members to vote according to their Consciences.

My Situation here is thought by many to be a little hazardous; for that if by some Accident, the Troops and People of N. E.[1] should come to Blows, I should probably be taken up; the ministerial People affecting everywhere to represent me as the Cause of all the Misunderstanding; and I have been frequently caution'd to secure my Papers, and by some advis'd to withdraw. But I venture to stay, in compliance with the Wish of others, till the Result of the Congress arrives, since they suppose my being here might on that Occasion be of Use; and I confide in my Innocence, that the worst which can happen to me will be an Imprisonment on Suspicion, tho' that is a thing I should much desire to avoid, as it may be expensive and vexatious, as well as dangerous to my Health. With great respect and esteem, I am ever, dear Sir, &c. B. FRANKLIN.

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758. A PARABLE AGAINST PERSECUTION[2]

1. And it came to pass after these things, that Abraham sat in the door of his tent, about the going down of the sun.

2. And behold a man, bent with age, coming from the way of the wilderness, leaning on a staff.

3. And Abraham arose and met him, and said unto him, Turn in, I pray thee, and wash thy feet, and tarry all night, and thou shalt arise early in the morning, and go on thy way.

4. But the man said, Nay, for I will abide under this tree.

[1] New England. — ED.

[2] See Volume I, p. 179. The parable is printed here from Vaughan's text. — ED.

5. And Abraham pressed him greatly; so he turned, and they went into the tent; and Abraham baked unleavened bread, and they did eat.

6. And when Abraham saw that the man blessed not God, he said unto him, Wherefore dost thou not worship the most high God, Creator of heaven and earth?

7. And the man answered and said, I do not worship thy God, neither do I call upon his name; for I have made to myself a god, which abideth always in mine house, and provideth me with all things.

8. And Abraham's zeal was kindled against the man, and he arose and fell upon him, and drove him forth with blows into the wilderness.

9. And God called unto Abraham, saying, Abraham, where is the stranger?

10. And Abraham answered and said, Lord, he would not worship thee, neither would he call upon thy name; therefore have I driven him out from before my face into the wilderness.

11. And God said, Have I borne with him these hundred and ninety and eight years, and nourished him, and cloathed him, notwithstanding his rebellion against me; and couldst not thou, who art thyself a sinner, bear with him one night?

12. And Abraham said, Let not the anger of the Lord wax hot against his servant; lo, I have sinned; lo, I have sinned; forgive me, I pray thee.

13. And Abraham arose, and went forth into the wilderness, and sought diligently for the man, and found him, and returned with him to the tent; and when he had entreated him kindly, he sent him away on the morrow with gifts.

14. And God spake again unto Abraham, saying, For

this thy sin shall thy seed be afflicted four hundred years in a strange land;

15. But for thy repentance will I deliver them; and they shall come forth with power, and with gladness of heart, and with much substance.[1]

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759. A PARABLE ON BROTHERLY LOVE

1. In those days there was no worker of iron in all the land. And the merchants of Midian passed by with their camels, bearing spices, and myrrh, and balm, and wares of iron.

2. And Reuben bought an axe of the Ishmaelite merchants, which he prized highly, for there was none in his father's house.

3. And Simeon said unto Reuben his brother, "Lend me, I pray thee, thine axe." But he refused, and would not.

4. And Levi also said unto him, "My brother, lend me, I pray thee, thine axe;" and he refused him also.

5. Then came Judah unto Reuben, and entreated him, saying, "Lo, thou lovest me, and I have always loved thee; do not refuse me the use of thine axe."

6. But Reuben turned from him, and refused him likewise.

7. Now it came to pass, that Reuben hewed timber on the bank of the river, and his axe fell therein, and he could by no means find it.

8. But Simeon, Levi, and Judah had sent a messenger after the Ishmaelites with money, and had bought for themselves each an axe.

[1] On the subject of this Parable see also a letter from Dr. Franklin to Mr. Vaughan, dated November 2d, 1789. — Ed.

9. Then came Reuben unto Simeon, and said, "Lo, I have lost mine axe, and my work is unfinished; lend me thine, I pray thee."

10. And Simeon answered him, saying, "Thou wouldest not lend me thine axe, therefore will I not lend thee mine."

11. Then went he unto Levi, and said unto him, "My brother, thou knowest my loss and my necessity; lend me, I pray thee, thine axe."

12. And Levi reproached him, saying, "Thou wouldest not lend me thine axe when I desired it, but I will be better than thou, and will lend thee mine."

13. And Reuben was grieved at the rebuke of Levi and being ashamed, turned from him, and took not the axe, but sought his brother Judah.

14. And as he drew near, Judah beheld his countenance as it were covered with grief and shame; and he prevented him, saying, "My brother, I know thy loss; but why should it trouble thee? Lo, have I not an axe that will serve both thee and me? Take it, I pray thee, and use it as thine own."

15. And Reuben fell on his neck, and kissed him, with tears, saying, "Thy kindness is great, but thy goodness in forgiving me is greater. Thou are indeed my brother, and whilst I live, will I surely love thee."

16. And Judah said, "Let us also love our other brethren; behold, are we not all of one blood?"

17. And Joseph saw these things, and reported them to his father Jacob.

18. And Jacob said, "Reuben did wrong, but he repented. Simeon also did wrong; and Levi was not altogether blameless.

19. "But the heart of Judah is princely. Judah hath the soul of a king. His father's children shall bow down before him, and he shall rule over his brethren."

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760. TRACT RELATIVE TO THE AFFAIR OF HUTCHINSON'S LETTERS[1] (L. C.)

HAVING been from my Youth more or lest engag'd in publick Affairs, it has often happened to me in the Course of my Life to be censured sharply for the Part I took in them. Such Censures I have generally passed over in Silence, conceiving, when they were just, that I ought rather to amend than defend; and when they were undeserved, that a little Time would justify me. Splashes of Dirt thrown upon my Character, I suffered while fresh to remain: I did not chuse to spread by endeavouring to remove them, but rely'd on the vulgar Adage *that they would all rub off when they were dry*. Much Experience has confirm'd my Opinion of the Propriety of this Conduct; for notwithstanding the frequent, and sometimes the virulent Attacks which the Jostlings of Party Interests have drawn upon me, I have had the Felicity of bringing down to a good old Age as fair a Reputation (may I be permitted to say it?) as most publick Men that I have known, and have never had reason to repent my neglecting to defend it.

I should therefore (persisting, as old Men are apt to do,

[1] For the history of the Hutchinson letters, see the Life of Franklin in Volume X of this edition. This paper was written in 1774, but was not published until it appeared in W. T. F.'s edition of the works in 1817. A draft and trans. of it exist in L. C. — ED.

in old Habits) have taken no Notice of the late Invective of the Sollicitor-General, nor of the abundant Abuse in the Papers, were I not urg'd to it by my Friends, who say, that the first being delivered by a publick Officer of Government before a high and most respectable Court, the Privy Council, and countenanc'd by its Report, and the latter having that for its Foundation, it behoves me, more especially as I am about leaving this Country, to furnish them with the Knowledge of such Facts as may enable them to justify to others their good Opinion of me. This compells me to the present Writing: for otherwise, having for some time past been gradually loosning all publick Connections, declining my Agencies, determin'd on retiring to my little Family, that I might enjoy the Remainder of Life in private Repose, indifferent to the Opinion of Courtiers, as having nothing to seek or wish among them, and being secure that Time would soon lay the Dust which Prejudice and Party have so lately rais'd, I should not think of giving myself the Trouble of Writing, and my Friends of reading an Apology for my political Conduct.

That this conduct may be better understood, and its Consistency more apparent, it seems necessary that I should first explain the Principles on which I have acted. It has long appeared to me, that the only true British Politicks were those which aim'd at the Good of the *Whole British Empire*, not that which sought the Advantage of *one Part* in the Disadvantage of the others; therefore all Measures of procuring Gain to the Mother Country arising from Loss to her Colonies, and all of Gain to the Colonies arising from or occasioning Loss to Britain, especially where the Gain was small and the Loss great, every Abridgment of the Power of the Mother

Country, where that Power was not prejudicial to the Liberties of the Colonists, and every Diminution of the Privileges of the Colonists, where they were not prejudicial to the Welfare of the Mo. Country, I, in my own Mind, condemned as improper, partial, unjust, and mischievous; tending to create Dissensions, and weaken that Union, on which the Strength, Solidity, and Duration of the Empire greatly depended; and I opposed, as far as my little Powers went, all Proceedings, either here or in America, that in my Opinion had such Tendency. Hence it has often happened to me, that while I have been thought here too much of an American, I have in America been deem'd too much of an Englishman.

From a thorough Enquiry (on Occasion of the Stamp Act) into the Nature of the Connection between Britain and the Colonies, I became convinced, that the Bond of their Union is not the Parliament, but the King. That in removing to America, a Country out of the Realm, they did not carry with them the Statutes then existing; for, if they did, the Puritans must have been subject *there* to the same grievous Acts of Conformity, Tithes, Spiritual Courts, &c., which they meant to be free from by going thither; and in vain would they have left their native Country, and all the Conveniencies and Comforts of its improved State, to combat the Hardships of a new Settlement in a distant Wilderness, if they had taken with them what they meant to fly from, or if they had left a Power behind them capable of sending the same Chains after them, to bind them in America: — They took with them, however, by Compact, their Allegiance to the King, and a Legislative Power for the making a new Body of Laws with his Assent, by which they were to be governed. Hence they became distinct States, under the same

Prince, as Scotland and England were before the Union, as Ireland is, as Jersey, Guernsey and Hanover are, governed each by its own Laws, and by the same Sovereign; having each the Power of granting their own Money to that Sovereign. And the Privilege of not being taxed but by their own Representatives.

At the same time, I considered the King's Supreme Authority over all the Colonies as of the greatest importance to them, affording a *Dernier Resort* for settling all their Disputes, a Means of preserving Peace among them with each other, and a Center in which their Common Force might be united against a common Enemy. This Authority I therefore thought, when acting within its due Limits, should be ever as carefully supported by the Colonists as by the Inhabitants of Britain.

In Conformity with these Principles, and as Agent for the Colonies, I opposed the Stamp Act, and endeavoured to obtain its Repeal, as an Infringement of the Rights of the Colonists, of no real Advantage to Britain, since she might ever be sure of greater Aids from our voluntary Grants than she could expect from arbitrary Taxes, as by losing our Respect and Affection, on which much of her Commerce with us depended, she would lose more in that Commerce than she could possibly gain by such Taxes, and as it was detrimental to the Harmony which had till then so happily subsisted, and which was so essential to the Welfare of the whole. And to keep up, as much as in me lay, a Reverence for the King and a Respect for the British Nation on that side the Water, and on this some Regard for the Colonies, (both tending to promote that Harmony,) I industriously, on all Occasions, in my Letters to America, represented the Meas-

ures that were grievous to them, as being neither *royal* nor *National* Measures, but the Schemes of an Administration, which wished to recommend itself for its Ingenuity in Finance, or to avail itself of new Revenues in creating, by Places and Pensions, new Dependencies; for that the King was a good and gracious Prince, and the People of Britain their real Friends. And on this Side the Water, I represented the People of America as fond of Britain, concern'd for its Interests and its Glory, and without the least Desire of a Separation from it. In both Cases I thought, and still think, I did not exceed the Bounds of Truth, and I have the heartfelt Satisfaction attending good Intentions, even when they are not successful.

With these Sentiments I could not but see with Concern the Sending of Troops to Boston; and their Behaviour to the People there gave me infinite Uneasiness, as I apprehended from that Measure the worst of Consequences, a Breach between the two Countries. And I was the more concern'd when I found, that it was considered there as a National Measure (since none here oppos'd it), and as a Proof that Britain had no longer a Parental Regard for them. I myself in Conversation sometimes spoke of it in this Light, and I own with some Resentment (being myself a Native of that Country), till I was, to my great Surprise, assured by a Gentleman of Character and Distinction (whom I am not at present permitted to name), that not only the Measure I particularly censur'd so warmly, but all the other Grievances we complain'd of, took their Rise, not from Government here, but were projected, proposed to Administration, sollicited, and obtained by some of the most respectable among the Americans themselves, as necessary Measures for the wel-

fare of that Country. As I could not readily assent to the Probability of this, he undertook to convince me, and he hoped thro' me (as their Agent here) my Countrymen. Accordingly he call'd on me some Days after, and produc'd to me these very Letters from Lieut-Govr Hutchinson, Secr^y^ Oliver, and others, wch have since been the Subject of so much Discussion.

Tho' astonished, I could not but confess myself convinced, and I was ready as he desired to convince my Countrymen; for I saw, I felt indeed by its Effect upon myself, the Tendency it must have towards a Reconciliation, which for the common Good I earnestly wished; it appear'd moreover, my Duty to give my Constituents an Intelligence of such Importance to their Affairs; but there was some Difficulty, as the Gentleman would not permit Copies to be taken of the Letters; and, if that could have been done, the Authenticity of those Copies might have been doubted and disputed. My simple Account of them as Papers I had seen, would have been still less certain; I therefore wish'd to have the Use of the Originals for that Purpose, which I at length obtained, on these express Conditions, that they should not be printed; that no Copies should be taken of them; that they should be shown only to a few of the leading People of the Government; and that they should be carefully returned.

I accepted these Conditions, and under the same transmitted the original Letters to the Committee of Correspondence at Boston, without taking or reserving any Copy of them for myself.[1] I agreed the more willingly to the Restraint from an Apprehension, that a Publication might, considering the State of Irritation in which the Minds of People there had

[1] See letter in Volume V, to Thomas Cushing, dated December 2, 1772.

long been kept, occasion some Riot of mischievous consequence. I had no other Scruple in sending them, for as they had been handed about here to prejudice that People, why not to them for their Advantage? The writers too had taken the same Liberty with the Letters of others, transmitting hither those of Rosne and Auchmuty in Confirmation of their own Calumnies against the Americans; Copies of some of mine too had been return'd here by Officers of Government. Why, then, should theirs be exempt from the same Treatment? To whom they had been directed here I could only conjecture; for I was not inform'd, and there was no address upon them when I receiv'd them. My Letter in which I enclos'd them, express'd more fully the Motives above mention'd for sending them, and I shall presently give an Extract of so much of it as related to them.

But as it has, on the contrary, been roundly asserted that I *did not*, as Agent, transmit those Letters to the Assembly's Committee of Correspondence; that I sent them to a Junto, *my peculiar* Correspondents; that fearing to be known as the Person who sent them, I had insisted on the keeping that Circumstance a Secret: that I had "shown the utmost Solicitude to have that Secret kept"; and this has been urged as a demonstrative Proof, that I was conscious of Guilt in the Manner of obtaining them; and therefore fear'd a Discovery so much as not to dare putting my Name to the Letter in which I enclos'd them, and which only appear'd to be mine by my well-known Handwriting; I would here, previous to that Extract, observe, that on the same Paper was first written the Copy of a preceding Letter, which had been sent sign'd by me as usual; and accordingly the Letter now in question began with these Words, "*The above is a Copy of my last;*"

and all the first Part of it was on Business transacted by me relating to the Affairs of the Province, and particularly to two Petitions sent to me as Agent by the Assembly, to be presented to the King. These Circumstances must to every Person there have as clearly shown me to be the Writer of that Letter, as my *well-known Hand* must have done to those *peculiar Correspondents* of my own, to whom it is said I sent it. If then I hoped to be conceal'd by not signing my Name to such a Letter, I must have been as silly as that Bird, which is suppos'd to think itself unseen when it has hid only its Head. And, if I could depend on my Correspondents' keeping secret a Letter and a Transaction, which they must needs know were mine, I might as well have trusted them with my Name, and could have had no Motive for omitting it. In truth, all I insisted on was (in pursuance of my Engagement), that the Letters should not be printed or copied; but I had not at the time the least Thought or Desire of keeping my Part in that Transaction a Secret; and, therefore, so far from requesting it, I did not so much as give the smallest Intimation, even that it would be agreable to me not to be mentioned on the Occasion. And if I had had that Inclination, I must have been very weak indeed to fancy, that the Person I wrote to, all the rest of the Committee of Correspondence, Five other Persons named, and "*such others* as the Committee might think fit to show them to," with three Gentlemen here to whom I had communicated the matter, should all keep as a Secret on my Account what I did not state as a Secret, or request should be concealed.

So much of the Letter as relates to the Governor's Letters is as follows.

"On this Occasion I think it fit to acquaint you, that there

has lately fallen into my Hands part of a Correspondence, that I have reason to believe laid the Foundation of most if not all our present grievances. I am not at Liberty to tell thro' what Channel I receiv'd it; and I have engag'd that it shall not be printed, nor Copies taken of the whole, or any Part of it; but I am allow'd to let it be seen by some Men of Worth in the Province, for their Satisfaction only. In confidence of your preserving inviolably my Engagement, I send you inclosed the original Letters, to obviate every Pretence of Unfairness in Copying, Interpolation, or Omission. The Hands of the Gentlemen will be well known. Possibly they may not like such an Exposal of their Conduct, however tenderly and privately it may be managed. But if they are good Men, or pretend to be such, and agree that *all good Men wish a good Understanding and Harmony to subsist between the Colonies and their Mother Country*, they ought the less to regret, that, at the small Expence of their Reputation for Sincerity and Publick Spirit among their Compatriots, *so desirable an Event may in some degree be forwarded.* For my own Part, I cannot but acknowledge, that my Resentment against this Country, for its arbitrary Measures in governing us, conducted by the late Minister, has, since my Conviction by these Papers that those Measures were projected, advised, and called for by Men of Character among ourselves, and whose Advice must therefore be attended with all the Weight that was proper to mislead, and which could therefore scarce fail of Misleading; my own Resentment, I say, has by this Means been exceedingly abated. *I think they must have the same Effect with you;* but I am not, as I have said, at Liberty to make the Letters publick. I can only allow them to be seen by yourself, by

the other Gentlemen of the Committee of Correspondence, by Messrs. Bowdoin and Pitts of the Council, and Drs. Chauncey, Cooper, and Winthrop, with a few such other Gentlemen as you may think fit to show them to. After being some Months in your Possession, you are requested to return them to me.

"As to the writers, I can easily as well as charitably conceive it possible, that a Man educated in Prepossessions of the unbounded Authority of Parliament, &c. may think unjustifiable every Opposition even to its unconstitutional Exactions, and imagine it their Duty to suppress, as much as in them lies, such Opposition. But when I find them bartering away the Liberties of their native Country for Posts, and negociating for Salaries and Pensions extorted from the People; and, conscious of the Odium these might be attended with, calling for Troops to protect and secure the Enjoyment of them: When I see them exciting Jealousies in the Crown, and provoking it to Wrath against so great a Part of its most faithful Subjects; creating Enmities between the different Countries of which the Empire consists; occasioning a great Expence to the *Old* Country for Suppressing or Preventing imaginary Rebellions in the *New*, and to the new Country for the Payment of needless Gratifications to useless Officers and Enemies; I cannot but doubt their Sincerity even in the political Principles they profess, and deem them mere Time-servers, seeking their own private Emolument, thro' any Quantity of Publick Mischief; Betrayers of the Interest, not of their native Country only, but of the Government they pretend to serve, and of the whole English Empire.

"With the greatest Esteem and Respect, I have the honour

to be, Sir, your and the Committee's most obedient humble Servant, "B. FRANKLIN."

The next letter is of Jan. 5, 1773, to the same Gentleman,[1] beginning with these Words, "I did myself the Honour of writing to you on the 2d of December past, enclosing some original Letters from Persons in Boston, which I hope got safe to hand;" and then it goes on with other Business transacted by B. F. as Agent and is signed with his Name as usual. In Truth he never sent an anonymous Letter to any Person in America, since his Residence here, unless where two or more Letters happen'd to be on the same Paper, the first a Copy of a preceding Letter, and the subsequent Referring to the preceding; in that Case he may possibly have omitted signing more than one of them, as unnecessary.

The first Letter, acknowledging the Receipt of the Papers, is dated "Boston, March 24, 1773," and begins thus; "I have just received your Favour of the 2d December last, with the several Papers enclos'd, for which I am much oblig'd to you. I have communicated them to some of the Gentlemen you mentioned. They are of Opinion, that tho' it might be inconvenient to publish them, yet it might be expedient to have Copies taken and left on this Side the Water, as there may be a Necessity to make some Use of them hereafter: However I read to them what you had wrote to me upon the Occasion, and told them I could by no means consent Copies of them or any Part of them should be taken without your express Leave; that I would write to you upon the Subject; and should strictly conform to your Directions."

[1] Thomas Cushing, Speaker of the House of Representatives in Massachusetts. — ED.

The next Letter, dated April 20, 1773, begins thus; "I wrote you in my last, that the Gentlemen, to whom I had communicated the Papers you sent me under Cover of yours of the 2d of December last, were of Opinion that they ought to be retained on this side the Water to be hereafter imployed as the Exigency of our Affairs may require, or at least that authenticated Copies ought to be taken before they are returned: I shall have, I find, a very difficult Task properly to conduct this Matter, unless you obtain leave for their being retained or Copied. I shall wait your Directions on this Head, and hope they will be such as will be agreable to all the Gentlemen, who unanimously are of Opinion, that it can by no means answer any valuable Purpose to send them here for the Inspection of a few Persons, barely to satisfy their Curiosity."

On the 9th of March, I wrote to the same Person, not having then receiv'd the preceding Letters, and mention'd my having written to him of the 2d of December and 5th of January; and knowing what Use was made against the People there, of every trifling Mob, and fearing lest if the Letters should contrary to my Directions be made publick something more serious of the kind might happen, I concluded that Letter thus; "I must hope that great Care will be taken to keep our People quiet, since nothing is more wish'd for by our Enemies, than that by Insurrections we should give a good Pretence for increasing the Military among us, and putting us under more severe Restraints. And it must be evident to all, that by our rapidly increasing Strength we shall soon become of so much Importance, that none of our just Claims of Privilege will be as heretofore unattended to, nor any Security we can wish for our Rights be deny'd us."

Mine of May 6 begins thus; "I have received none of your Favours, since that of Nov. 28. I have since written to you of the following Dates, Dec. 2, Jan. 5, March 9, and April 3, which I hope got safe to hand." Thus in two out of three Letters, subsequent to that of Dec. 2, which enclos'd the Governor's Letters, I mention'd my Writing that Letter, which shows I could have no Intention of concealing my having written it; and that therefore the Assertion of my sending it anonymous is without Probability.

In mine of June 2, 1773, I acknowledge the Receipt of his [Letter] of Mar. 24, and not being able to answer immediately his Request of leave to copy the Letters, I said nothing of them then, postponing that Subject to an Opportunity which was expected two days after, viz. June 4th, when my Letter of that Date concludes thus; "As to the Letters I communicated to you, tho' I have not been able to obtain Leave to take Copies or publish them, I have Permission to let the Originals remain with you, as long as you may think it of any Use to have the Originals in Possession."

In mine of July 7. 1773, I answer the above of April 20 as follows. "The Letters communicated to you were not merely to satisfy the Curiosity of any, but it was thought there might be a Use in showing them to some Friends of the Province, and *even to some of the Governor's Party*, for their more certain Information concerning his Conduct and Politicks, tho' the Letters were not made quite publick. I believe I have since wrote to you, that there was no Occasion to return them speedily; and, tho' I cannot obtain Leave as yet to suffer Copies to be taken of them, I am allowed to say, that they may be shewn and read to whom and as many as you think proper."

The same Person writes to me of June 14, 1773, in these Terms; "I have endeavoured inviolably to keep to your Injunctions with respect to the Papers you sent me; I have shown them only to such Persons as you directed; no one person, except Dr. Cooper and one of the Committee, know from whom they came or to whom they were sent. I have constantly avoided mentioning your Name upon the Occasion, so that it never need be known (if you incline to keep it a Secret) who they came from, and to whom they were sent; and *I desire, so far as I am concerned, my Name may not be mentioned; for it may be a Damage to me.* I thought it, however, my Duty to communicate them as permitted, as they contained Matters of Importance that very nearly affected the Government. And notwithstanding all my Care and Precaution, it is now publickly known that such Letters are here. Considering the Number of Persons who were to see them, (not less than Ten or Fifteen,) it is astonishing they did not get Air before." Then he goes on to relate how the Assembly, having heard of them, oblig'd him to produce them, but engag'd not to print them; and that they afterwards did nevertheless print them, having got over that Engagement by the Appearance of Copies in the House, produc'd by a Member, who it was reported had just receiv'd them from England. This letter concludes; "I have done all in my Power strictly to conform to your Restrictions; but, from the Circumstances above related, you must be sensible it was impossible to prevent the Letters being made publick and therefore hope I shall be free from all Blame respecting this Matter."

This Letter accounts for its being, *unexpectedly to me,* made a Secret in Boston, that I had sent the Letters. The Gent. to whom I sent them had his Reasons for desiring not

to be known as the Person who receiv'd and communicated them; but as this would have been suspected, if it were known that I sent them, that Circumstance was to be kept a Secret. Accordingly they were given to another, to be by him produc'd to the committee.

My answer to this was of July 25, 1773, as follows: [See letter to Thomas Cushing, July 25, 1773, supra, p. 109. — ED.]

With the abovemention'd Letter of the 14th June, I received one from another of the Gentlemen[1] to whom the Papers had been communicated, which says, "By whom and to whom they were sent is still a Secret, known only to three Persons here, and may still remain so, if you desire it." My Answer to him of July 25, was; "I accompany'd them with no Restriction relating to myself: My Duty to the Province as their Agent I thought requir'd the Communication of them so far as I could. I was sensible I should make enemies there, and perhaps might offend Governm[t] here; but these Apprehensions I disregarded. I did not expect, and hardly still expect, that my sending them could be kept a Secret. But since it is such hitherto, I now wish it may continue so, because the Publication of the Letters, contrary to my Engagement, has changed the Circumstances." His Reply to this, of the 10th of November, is; "After all the solicitous Enquiries of the Governor and his Friends respecting his Letters, it still remains a Secret from and to whom they were sent here. This is known, among us, to two only besides myself; and will remain undiscover'd, unless farther Intelligence should come from your Side the Water, than I have reason to think has yet been obtain'd. I cannot, however, but admire your honest Openness in this Affair, and noble Negligence

[1] Rev. Samuel Cooper, of Boston. — ED.

of any Inconveniencies that might arise to yourself in this essential Service to our injur'd Country."

To another Friend [1] I wrote of the same Date, July 25, what will show the Apprehensions I was constantly under, of the Mischiefs that might attend a Breach from the exasperated State of Things, and the Arguments I used to prevent it; viz. "I am glad to see that you are elected into the Council, and are about to take Part in our Publick Affairs. Your Abilities, Integrity, and sober Attachment to the Liberties of our Country, will be of great Use at this tempestuous Time, in conducting our little Bark into safe Harbour. By the Boston Newspapers there seem to be among us some violent Spirits, who are for an immediate Rupture. But, I trust, the general Prudence of our Countrymen will see, that by our growing Strength we advance fast to a Situation in which our Claims must be allow'd; that by a premature Struggle we may be crippled and kept down another Age; that as between Friends every Affront is not worth a Duel, between Nations every Injury not worth a War, so between the Governed and the Governing, every Mistake in Government, every Incroachment on Rights, is not worth a Rebellion. 'Tis in my Opinion, sufficient for the present that we hold them forth on all Occasions, not giving up any of them; using at the same time, every Means to make them generally understood and valued by the People; cultivating a Harmony among the Colonies, that their Union in the same Sentiments may give them greater Weight; remembring withal that this Protestant Country (our Mother, tho' of late an unkind one,) is worth preserving, and that her Weight in

[1] Professor Winthrop, of Harvard College, a member of his Majesty's Council in Massachusetts. See this letter, p. 106. — ED.

the Scale of Europe, her Safety in a great Degree, may depend on our Union with her. Thus conducting, I am confident, we may within a few Years obtain every Allowance of, and every Security for, our inestimable Privileges, that we can wish or desire."

His Answer of Dec. 31, is; "I concur perfectly with you in the Sentiments expressed in your last. No considerate Person, I should think, can approve of desperate Remedies, except in desperate Cases. The People of America are extreamly agitated by the repeated Efforts of Administration to subject them to absolute Power. They have been amused with Accounts of the pacific Disposition of the Ministry, and flattered with Assurances, that upon their humble Petitions, all their Grievances should be redressed. They have petitioned from time to time; but their Petitions have had no other Effect than to make them feel more sensibly their own Slavery. Instead of Redress, every Year has produced some new Manœuvre, which could have no Tendency but to irritate them more and more. The last Measure of the East India Company's sending their Tea here, subject to a Duty, seems to have given the finishing Stroke to their Patience. You will have heard of the Steps taken at Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, to prevent the Payment of this Duty, by sending the Tea back to its Owners. But, as this was found impossible at Boston, the Destruction of the Tea was the Consequence. What the Event of these Commotions will be, God only knows. The People thro' the Colonies appear immoveably fix'd in their Resolution, that the Tea Duty shall never be paid; and, if the Ministry are determin'd to inforce these Measures, I dread the Consequences: I verily fear they will turn America into a field of Blood. But I will hope for the best."

I am told, that Administration is possess'd of most of my Letters sent or received on Publick Affairs for some Years past; Copies of them having been obtain'd from the Files of the several Assemblies, or as they pass'd thro' the Post-Office. I do not condemn their ministerial Industry or complain of it. The foregoing Extracts may be compar'd with those Copies; and I can appeal to them with Confidence, that upon such Comparison, these Extracts will be found faithfully made. And that the whole Tenor of my Letters has been, to persuade Patience and a careful guarding against all Violence, under the Grievances complain'd of, and this from various Considerations, such as, that the Welfare of the Empire depended upon the Union of its Parts; that the Sovereign was well dispos'd towards us, and the Body of this Nation our Friends and Well-Wishers; that it was the Ministry only who were prejudic'd against us; that the Sentiments of Ministers might in time be changed, or the Ministers themselves be changed; or that, if those Chances fail'd, at least Time would infallibly bring Redress, since the Strength, Weight, and Importance of America were continually and rapidly increasing, and its Friendship of course daily becoming more valuable and more likely to be cultivated by an Attention to its Rights. The NewsPapers have announc'd, that *Treason* is found in some of my Letters. It must then be of some new Species. The Invention of Court Lawyers has always been fruitful in the Discovery of new Treasons; and perhaps it is now become Treason to censure the Conduct of Ministers. None of any other kind, I am sure, can be found in my Correspondence.

The Effect of the Governor's Letters on the Minds of the People in New England, when they came to be read there,

was precisely what had been expected, and proposed by sending them over. It was now seen, that the Grievances, which had been so deeply resented as Measures of the Mother Country, were in fact the Measures of two or three of their own People; of course all that Resentment was withdrawn from her, and fell where it was proper it should fall on the Heads of those Caitiffs, who were the Authors of the Mischief. Both Houses [1] took up the Matter in this Light; [and the House of Representatives agreed to the following resolves, reported by the committee appointed to consider the letters; viz.

"The Committee appointed to consider certain Letters laid before the House of Representatives, reported the following Resolves.

"Tuesday, June 15th, 1773.

"Resolved, That the letters signed *Tho. Hutchinson* and *Andw. Oliver*, now under the consideration of this House, appear to be the genuine letters of the present governor and lieutenant-governor of this province, whose hand-writing and signatures are well known to many of the members of this House; and that they contain aggravated accounts of facts and misrepresentations; and that one *manifest design* of them was to represent the matters they treat of in a light *highly injurious* to this province, and the persons against whom they were written.

"Resolved, That, though the letters aforesaid, signed *Tho. Hutchinson*, are said by the governor in his message to this House of June 9th, to be 'private letters written to a gentleman in London, since deceased,' and 'that all except the last were written many months before he came to the chair'; yet that they were written by the present governor, *when he was lieutenant-governor and chief justice* of this province; who has been represented abroad as *eminent for his abilities*, as for his exalted station; and was under no official obligation to transmit private intelligence; and that they *therefore must be considered* by the person to whom they were sent, as *documents of solid intelligence;* and that this gentleman in London, to whom they were written, was then a member of the British Parliament, and one who was very active in American affairs; and therefore that these letters, however secretly written, *must naturally be supposed to have, and really had, a public operation.*

"Resolved, That these 'private letters' being written 'with express confi-

[1] That is, the Council and House of Representatives of Massachusetts. — S.

dence of secrecy' was only to prevent the contents of them being known *here*, as appears by said letters; and this rendered them the more injurious in their tendency, and really insidious.

"Resolved, That the letters signed *Tho. Hutchinson*, considering the person by whom they were written, the matters they expressly contain, the express reference in some of them for 'full intelligence' to Mr. Hallowell, a person deeply interested in the measures so much complained of, and recommendatory notices of divers other persons, whose emoluments arising from our public burdens must excite them to unfavourable representations of us, *the measures they suggest*, the temper in which they were written, the manner in which they were sent, and the person to whom they were addressed, had a natural and *efficacious* tendency to interrupt and alienate the affections of our most gracious sovereign King George the Third, from this his loyal and affectionate province; to destroy that harmony and good-will between Great Britain and this colony, which every friend to either would wish to establish; to excite the resentment of the British administration against this province; to defeat the endeavours of our agents and friends to serve us by a fair representation of our state of grievances; to prevent our humble and repeated petitions from reaching the royal ear of our common sovereign; and *to produce the severe and destructive measures*, which have been taken against this province, and others still more so, which have been threatened.

"Resolved, As the opinion of this House, that it clearly appears from the letters aforesaid, signed *Tho. Hutchinson* and *Andw. Oliver*, that it was the desire and endeavour of the writers of them, that *certain acts* of the British Parliament for raising a revenue in America, *might be carried into effect by military force;* and, by introducing a fleet and army into this his Majesty's loyal province, to intimidate the minds of his subjects here, and prevent every constitutional measure to obtain the repeal of those acts, so justly esteemed a grievance to us, and to suppress the very spirit of freedom.

"Resolved, That it is the opinion of this House, that, as the salaries lately appointed for the governor, lieutenant-governor and judges of this province, directly repugnant to the charter, and subversive of justice, are founded on this revenue; and as these letters were written *with a design*, and *had a tendency*, to *promote* and *support* that revenue, therefore there is great reason to suppose the writers of those letters *were well knowing to, suggested, and promoted* the enacting said revenue acts, and the establishments founded on the same.

"Resolved, That, while the writer of these letters, signed *Tho. Hutchinson*, has been thus exerting himself, by his 'secret confidential correspondence,' to introduce measures destructive of our constitutional liberty, he has been practising every method among the people of this province, to fix in their minds an exalted opinion of his warmest affection for them, and his unremitted endeavours to promote their best interests at the court of Great Britain.

"Resolved, as the opinion of this House, That, by comparing these letters,

signed *Tho. Hutchinson*, with those signed *Andw. Oliver*, *Cha. Paxton*, and *Nath. Rogers*, and considering what has since in fact taken place conformable thereto, *that there have been for many years past measures contemplated, and a plan formed, by a set of men born and educated among us*, to raise their own fortunes, and advance themselves to posts of honour and profit, not only to the destruction of the charter and constitution of this province, but at the expense of the rights and liberties of the American colonies. And it is further the opinion of this House, that the said persons have been some of the *chief instruments in the introduction* of a military force into the province, to carry their plans into execution; and, therefore, *they have been not only greatly instrumental* in disturbing the peace and harmony of the government, and causing and promoting great discord and animosities, but are *justly chargeable* with the great corruption of morals, and *all that confusion, misery, and bloodshed, which have been the natural effects of the introduction of troops.*

"Whereas, for many years past, measures have been taken by the British administration, very grievous to the good people of this province, which this House have now reason to suppose were promoted, if not originally suggested, by the writers of these letters; and many efforts have been made by the people to obtain the redress of their grievances;

"Resolved, That it appears to this House, that the writers of these letters have availed themselves of disorders that naturally arise in a free government under such oppressions, as arguments to prove, that it was originally necessary such measures should have been taken, and that they should now be continued and increased.

"Whereas, in the letter signed *Cha. Paxton*, dated Boston Harbour, June 20th, 1768, it is expressly declared, that 'unless we have immediately two or three regiments, it is the opinion of all the friends of government, that Boston will be in open rebellion;'

"Resolved, That this is a most wicked and injurious representation, designed to inflame the minds of his Majesty's ministers and the nation; and to excite in the breast of our sovereign a jealousy of his loyal subjects of said town, without the least grounds therefor, as enemies of his Majesty's person and government.

"Whereas, certain letters by two private persons, signed *T. Moffat* and *G. Rome*, have been laid before the House, which letters contain many matters highly injurious to government, and to the national peace;

"Resolved, That it has been the misfortune of their government, from the earliest period of it, from time to time, to be secretly traduced and maliciously represented to the British ministry, by persons who were neither friendly to this colony nor to the English constitution.

"Resolved, That this House have just reason to complain of it as a very great grievance, that the humble petitions and remonstrances of the commons of this province are not allowed to reach the hands of our most gracious sovereign, merely because they are presented by an agent, to whose appoint-

ment the governor, with whom our chief dispute may subsist, doth not consent; while the *partial* and *inflammatory letters* of individuals, who are greatly interested in the revenue acts, and the measures taken to carry them into execution, *have been laid before administration, attended to, and determined upon*, not only to the injury of the reputation of the people, but to the depriving them of their invaluable rights and liberties.

"Whereas, this House are humbly of opinion, that his Majesty will judge it to be incompatible with the interest of his crown, and the peace and safety of the good people of this his loyal province, that persons should be continued in places of high trust and authority in it, who are known to have with great industry, though secretly, endeavoured to undermine, alter, and overthrow the constitution of the province; therefore,

"Resolved, That this House is bound, in duty to the King and their constituents, humbly to remonstrate to his Majesty the conduct of his Excellency Thomas Hutchinson, Esquire, Governor, and the Honourable Andrew Oliver, Esquire, Lieutenant-Governor, of this province; and to pray that his Majesty would be pleased to remove them for ever from the government thereof."[1]

Upon these Resolutions was founded the following Petition, transmitted to me to be presented to his Majesty.

"TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

"MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

"We, your Majesty's loyal subjects, the representatives of your ancient colony of Massachusetts Bay, in General Court legally assembled, by virtue of your Majesty's writ under the hand and seal of the Governor, beg leave to lay this our humble petition before your Majesty.

"Nothing but the sense of duty we owe to our sovereign, and the obligation we are under to consult the peace and safety of the province, could induce us to remonstrate to your Majesty concerning the mal-conduct of persons, who have heretofore had the confidence and esteem of this people; and whom your Majesty has been pleased, from the purest motives of rendering your subjects happy, to advance to the highest places of trust and authority in the province.

"Your Majesty's humble petitioners, with the deepest concern and anxiety, have seen the discords and animosities which have too long subsisted between your subjects of the parent state and those of the American colonies. And we have trembled with apprehensions, that the consequences, naturally arising therefrom, would at length prove fatal to both countries.

[1] The House of Representatives adopted these Resolves, as here reported, by a large majority. The Council almost unanimously passed a series of Resolves, on the 25th of June, embodying similar sentiments. — ED.

"Permit us humbly to suggest to your Majesty, that your subjects here have been inclined to believe, that the grievances which they have suffered, and still continue to suffer, have been occasioned by your Majesty's ministers and principal servants being, unfortunately for us, misinformed in certain facts of very interesting importance to us. It is for this reason, that former assemblies have, from time to time, prepared a true state of facts to be laid before your Majesty; but their humble remonstrances and petitions, it is presumed, have by some means been prevented from reaching your royal hand.

"Your Majesty's petitioners have very lately had before them *certain papers*, from which they humbly conceive it is most reasonable to suppose, that there has been long a conspiracy of evil men in this province, who have contemplated measures, and formed a plan, to advance themselves to power, and raise their own fortunes, by means destructive of the charter of the province, at the expense of the quiet of the nation, and to the annihilating of the rights and liberties of the American colonies.

"And we do, with all due submission to your Majesty, beg leave particularly to complain of the conduct of his Excellency Thomas Hutchinson, Esquire, Governor, and the Honourable Andrew Oliver, Esquire, Lieutenant-Governor of this your Majesty's province, as having a natural and efficacious tendency to interrupt and alienate the affections of your Majesty, our rightful sovereign, from this your loyal province; to destroy that harmony and good-will between Great Britain and this colony, which every honest subject should strive to establish; to excite the resentment of the British administration against this province; to defeat the endeavours of our agents and friends to serve us by a fair representation of our state of facts; to prevent our humble and repeated petitions from reaching the ear of your Majesty, or having their desired effect. And, finally, that the said Thomas Hutchinson and Andrew Oliver have been among the chief instruments in introducing a fleet and army into this province, to establish and perpetuate their plans, whereby they have been, not only greatly instrumental in disturbing the peace and harmony of the government, and causing unnatural and hateful discords and animosities between the several parts of your Majesty's extensive dominions, but are justly chargeable with all that corruption of morals, and all that confusion, misery, and bloodshed, which have been the natural effects of posting an army in a populous town.

"Wherefore we most humbly pray, that your Majesty would be pleased to remove from their posts in this government the said Thomas Hutchinson, Esquire, and Andrew Oliver, Esquire; who have, by their abovementioned conduct, and otherwise, rendered themselves justly obnoxious to your loving subjects, and entirely lost their confidence; and place such good and faithful men in their stead, as your Majesty in your wisdom shall think fit.

"In the name and by order of the House of Representatives.

"THOMAS CUSHING, *Speaker*."

Lord Dartmouth, Secretary of State for the Colonies, being in the Country when I receiv'd this Petition, I transmitted it to his Lordship, inclos'd in the following Letter to which Letter his Lordship was pleased to return me the following Answer.

"TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH.

"London, August 21st, 1773.

"MY LORD,

"I have just received, from the House of Representatives of the Massachusetts Bay, their address to the King, which I now enclose, and send to your Lordship, with my humble request in their behalf, that you would be pleased to present it to his Majesty the first convenient opportunity.

"I have the pleasure of hearing from that province by my late letters, that a sincere disposition prevails in the people there to be on good terms with the mother country; that the Assembly have declared their desire only to be put into the situation they were in before the Stamp Act. *They aim at no novelties.* And it is said, that, having lately discovered, as they think, the authors of their grievances to be some of their own people, their resentment against Britain is thence much abated.

"This good disposition of theirs (will your Lordship permit me to say) may be cultivated by a favourable answer to this address, which I therefore hope your goodness will endeavour to obtain. With the greatest respect, I have the honour to be, my Lord, &c., "B. FRANKLIN,"

"*Agent for the House of Representatives.*"

"LORD DARTMOUTH'S ANSWER[1]

"Sandwell, 25 August, 1773.

"SIR,

"I have received your Letter of the 21st Instant, together with an Address of the House of Representatives of the Massachusetts Bay, which I shall not fail to lay before the King the next time I shall have the honour of being admitted into his presence. I cannot help expressing to you the pleasure it gives me to hear, that a sincere disposition prevails in the People of that Province to be on good terms with the Mother Country, and my earnest hope that the time is at no great distance, when every ground of uneasiness will cease, and the most perfect tranquillity and happiness be restored to the breasts of that people.

"I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

"DARTMOUTH.

"BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, ESQ."

[1] The original letter is in L. C.—ED.

Both Houses at the same time join'd in a Letter to Lord Dartmouth on this Subject, of which the following is a true Copy. It came thro' my Hands and I transmitted it to his *L^p^*. [Here insert the Letter of June 29, from the True State.]

No one, who knows Lord D., can doubt the Sincerity of the good Wishes express'd in his Letter to me; and if his Majesty's other Servants had fortunately been possess'd of the same benevolent Dispositions, with as much of that Attention to the publick Interest, and Dexterity in Managing it, as Statesmen of this Country generally show in obtaining and securing their *Places*, here was a fine Opportunity put into their Hands of "reëstablishing the Union and Harmony that formerly subsisted between Great Britain and her Colonies," so necessary to the Welfare of both, and upon the easy Condition of only "restoring Things to the State they were in at the Conclusion of the late War." This was a solemn Declaration sent over from the Province most aggriev'd, with which they acquitted Britain of their Grievances, and charg'd them all upon a few Individuals of their own Country. Upon the Heads of these very mischievous Men they deprecated no Vengeance, tho' that of the whole Nation was justly merited; they considered it as an hard thing for an Administration to punish a Governor who had acted from Orders, tho' the Orders had been procured by his Misrepresentations and Calumnies; they therefore only petitioned, "that his Majesty would be pleased to remove T. H., Esq., and A. O., Esq.,[1] from their Posts in that Government, and place good and faithful Men in their stead." These Men might have been plac'd or pension'd elsewhere, as others have been; or like the Scape-Goats of old, they might have carried away into the Wilder-

[1] Thomas Hutchinson and Andrew Oliver. — Ed.

ness all the Offences which have arisen between the two Countries, with the burthens of which, they, having been the Authors of those Mischiefs, were most justly chargeable.

But this Opportunity our Ministers had not the Wisdom to embrace; they chose rather to reject it, and to abuse and punish me for giving it. A Court Clamour was rais'd against me as an incendiary; and the very Action upon which I valued myself, as it appear'd to me a Means of lessening our Differences, I was unlucky enough to find charg'd upon me, as a wicked Attempt to increase them. Strange Perversion.

I was, it seems, equally unlucky in another Action, which I also intended for a good One; and which brought on the abovemention'd Clamour. The News being arriv'd here of the divulging of those Letters in America, great Enquiry was made, who had transmitted them. Mr. Temple, a Gentleman of the Customs, was accus'd of it in the Papers. He vindicated himself. A publick Altercation ensu'd upon it between him and a Mr. Wheatley, Brother and Executor to the Person to whom it was supposed the Letters had been originally written, and who was suspected by some of communicating them, on the Supposition that by his Brother's Death they might have fallen into his Hands. As the Gentleman, to whom I sent them, had in his Letter to me above recited, given an important Reason for his desiring it should be conceal'd, that he was the Person who receiv'd them, and had for the same Reason chosen not to let it be known I sent them, I suffer'd that Altercation to go on without interfering, supposing it would end, as other Newspaper Debates usually do, when the Parties and the Publick should be tired of them. But this Debate unexpectedly, produc'd a Duel. The Gentlemen were parted; Mr. Wheately was hurt, but not

dangerously. This, however, alarm'd me, and made me wish I had prevented it; but imagining all now over between them, I still kept Silence, till I heard that the Duel was understood to be unfinish'd, as having been interrupted by Persons accidentally near, and that it would probably be repeated as soon as Mr. Wheately, who was mending daily, had recover'd his Strength. I then thought it high time to interpose. And as the Quarrel was for the publick Opinion, I took what I thought the shortest way to settle that Opinion, with regard to the Parties, by publishing what follows, viz.

"TO THE PRINTER OF *THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.*

"SIR,

"Finding that two gentlemen have been unfortunately engaged in a duel, about a transaction and its circumstances, of which both of them are totally ignorant and innocent; I think it incumbent upon me to declare (for the prevention of farther mischief, as far as such a declaration may contribute to prevent it), that I alone am the person who obtained and transmitted to Boston the letters in question. Mr. W. could not communicate them, because they were never in his possession; and, for the same reason, they could not be taken from him by Mr. T. They were not of the nature of *private* letters between friends. They were written by public officers to persons in public stations, on public affairs, and intended to procure public measures; they were therefore handed to other public persons, who might be influenced by them to produce those measures. Their tendency was to incense the mother country against her colonies, and, by the steps recommended, to widen the breach; which they effected. The chief caution expressed with regard to privacy was, to keep their contents from the colony agents, who, the writers apprehended, might return them, or copies of them to America. That apprehension was, it seems, well founded; for the first agent who laid his hands on them, thought it his duty[1] to transmit them to his constituents.

"B. FRANKLIN,
"*Agent for the House of Representatives of Massachusetts Bay.*

"Craven Street, December 25th, 1773."

[1] In remarking on this word as here used, Dr. Franklin said, in a note found in his handwriting; "Governor Hutchinson, as appears by his letters, since found and published in New England, had the same idea of *duty*, when he procured copies of Dr. Franklin's letters to the Assembly, and sent them to the ministry of England." — S.

This Declaration of mine was at first generally approv'd, except that some blam'd me for not having made it sooner, so as to prevent the Duel; but I had not the Gift of Prophecy; I could not foresee that the Gentlemen would fight; I did not even foresee that either of them could possibly take it ill of me. I imagin'd I was doing them a good Office, in clearing both of them from Suspicion, and removing the Cause of their Difference. I should have thought it natural for them both to have thank'd me; but I was mistaken as to one of them. His Wounds perhaps at first prevented him; and afterwards he was tutor'd probably to another kind of Behaviour by his Court Connections.

My only Acquaintance with this Gentleman, Mr. [William] Wheately, was from an Application he made to me to do him the favour of enquiring after some Land in Pennsylvania, suppos'd to have been purchas'd anciently from the first Proprietor, by a Major Thomson, his Grandfather, of which they had some imperfect Memorandums in the Family, but knew not whether it might not have been sold or convey'd away by him in his Lifetime, as there was no Mention of it in his Will. I took the Trouble of Writing accordingly to a Friend of Mine, an eminent Lawyer there, well acquainted with such Business, desiring him to make the Enquiry. He took some Pains in it at my Request, and succeeded; and in a Letter inform'd me, that he had found the Land; that the Proprietary claimed it, but he thought the Title was clear to the Heir of Thomson; that he could easily recover it for him, and would undertake it, if Mr. Wheately should think fit to imploy him; or, if he should rather chuse to sell it, my Friend impower'd me to make him an Offer of 5000£ Sterling for it. With this Letter I waited upon him about a

Month before the Duel, at his House in Lombard Street, the first time I had ever been in it. He was pleas'd with the Intelligence, and call'd upon me once or twice afterwards to concert the Means of making out his Title.

I mention some of these Circumstances to show that it was not thro' any previous Acquaintance with him that I came to the Knowledge of the famous Letters: for they had been in America near a Year before I so much as knew where he liv'd; and the others I mention to show his Gratitude. I could have excus'd his not thanking me for sparing him a second Hazard of his Life: For tho' he might feel himself serv'd, he might also apprehend, that to seem pleas'd would look as if he was afraid of fighting again; or perhaps he did not value his Life at any thing. But the Addition to his Fortune one would think of some Value to a Banker; and yet the Return this worthy Gentleman made me for both Favours was, without the smallest previous Notice, Warning, Complaint, or Request to me, directly or indirectly or exprest in any Manner whatsoever, to clap upon my Back a Chancery Suit.

His Bill set forth, "That he was Administrator of the Goods and Chattels of his late Brother Thomas Wheately; that some Letters had been written to his said Brother by the Governors Hutchinson and Oliver, that those Letters had been in the Custody of his said Brother at the time of his Death, *or had been by him deliver'd to some other Person for Perusal*, and to be by such Person safely kept and returned to said Thomas Wheately; that the same had by some means come into my Hands; that to prevent a Discovery, I, or some Person by my Order, had erased the Address of the Letters to the said T. Wheately; that carrying on the Trade

of a Printer, I had, by my Agents or *Confederates*, printed and published the same Letters in America, and disposed of great Numbers; that I threat'ned to print and sell the same in England; and that *he had applied to me* to deliver up to him the said Letters, and all Copies thereof, and desist from printing and publishing the same, and *account with him* for the *Profits* thereof; and he was in hopes I would have complied with such Request, but *so it was that I had refused*, &c., contrary to Equity and *good Conscience*, and to the manifest *Injury* and *Oppression* of him, the Complainant; and praying my Lord Chancellor, that I might be obliged to discover how I came by the Letters, what Number of Copies I had printed and sold, and *to account with him for the Profits*," &c. &c. The Gentleman himself must have known, that *every Circumstance* of this was *totally false;* that of his Brother's having *deliver'd the Letters to some other Person for Perusal* excepted. Those as little acquainted with Law as I was, (who indeed never before had a Suit of any kind,) may wonder at this as much as I did. But I have now learnt that in chancery, tho' the *Defendant* must swear to the Truth of every Point in his Answer, the *Plaintiff* is not put to his Oath, or obliged to have the least Regard to Truth in his Bill, but is allowed to lie as much as he pleases. I do not understand this, unless it be for the Encouragement of Business.

My Answer upon Oath was, "That the Letters in question were given to me, and came into my Hands, as Agent for the House of Representatives of the Province of Massachusetts Bay; that, when given to me, I did not know to whom they had been addressed, no Address appearing upon them; nor did I know before that any such Letters existed; that I

had not been for many Years concern'd in Printing; that I did not cause the Letters to be printed, nor direct the doing it; that I did not eraze any Address that might have been on the Letters, nor did I know that any other Person had made such Erazure; that I did, as Agent to the Province, transmit (as I apprehended it my Duty to do) the said Letters to one of the committee, with whom I had been directed to correspond, inasmuch as in my Judgment they related to Matters of great publick Importance to that Province, and were put into my Hands for that Purpose; that I had never been applied to by the Complainant, as asserted in his Bill, and had made no Profits of the Letters, nor intended to make any," &c.

It was about this time become evident, that all Thoughts of Reconciliation with the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay, by Attention to their Petitions, and a Redress of their Grievances, was laid aside; that Severity was resolv'd; and that the decrying and vilifying the People of that Country, and me their Agent, among the rest, was quite a Court Measure. It was the *Ton* with all the ministerial Folks to abuse them and me, in every Company, and in every Newspaper; and it was intimated to me, as a thing settled, long before it happened, that the Petition for Removal of the Governors was to be rejected, the Assembly censur'd, and myself, who had presented it, was to be punished by the Loss of my Place in the Post-Office. For all this I was therefore prepar'd; but the Attack from Mr. Wheately was, I own, a Surprize to me. Under the abovementioned Circumstances of Obligation, and without the sightest Provocation, I could not have imagined any Man base enough to commence, *of his own Motion*, such a vexatious Suit against me. But a little accidental Infor-

mation serv'd to throw some Light upon the Business. An Acquaintance [1] calling on me, after having just been at the Treasury, show'd me what he stil'd *a pretty Thing*, for a Friend of his; it was an Order for 150£, payable to Dr. [Samuel] Johnson, said to be one Half of his Yearly Pension, and drawn by the Secretary of the Treasury on this same Mr. Wheately. I then consider'd him as a Banker to the Treasury for the Pension Money, and thence as having an interested Connection with Administration, that might induce him to *act by Direction* of others in harassing me with this Suit, which gave me if possible a *still meaner* Opinion of him, than if he had done it of his own Accord.

What further Steps he or his *Confederates*, the M—rs,[2] will take in this Cause, I know not. I do not indeed believe the Banker himself, finding there are no *Profits* to be shar'd, would willingly lay out a Sixpence more upon the Suit; but then my Finances are not sufficient to cope at Law with the *Treasury* here; especially when Administration has taken Care to prevent my Constituents of N. England from paying me any Salary, or reimbursing me any Expences, by a special Instruction to the Governor, *not to sign any Warrant for that purpose on the Treasury there.*

The Injustice of thus depriving the People there of the Use of their own Money, to pay an Agent acting in their Defence, while the Governor, with a large Salary out of the Money extorted from them by Act of Parliament, was enabled to pay plentifully Maudit and Wedderburn to abuse and defame them and their Agent, is so evident as to need no Comment. But this they call GOVERNMENT!

[1] William Strahan, member of Parliament, and King's Printer. — W. T. F.
[2] Ministers. — ED.

761. THE RESULT OF ENGLAND'S PERSISTENCE IN HER POLICY TOWARDS THE COLONIES ILLUSTRATED.[1]

EXPLANATION.

GREAT BRITAIN is supposed to have been placed upon the globe; but the *colonies*, (that is, her limbs,) being severed from her, she is seen lifting her eyes and mangled stumps to Heaven; her shield, which she is unable to wield, lies useless by her side; her lance has pierced New England; the laurel branch has fallen from the hand of Pennsylvania; the English oak has lost its head, and stands a bare trunk, with a few withered branches; briers and thorns are on the ground beneath it; the British ships have brooms at their topmast heads, denoting their being on sale; and BRITANNIA herself is seen sliding off the world (no longer able to hold its balance), her fragments overspread with the label, DATE OBOLUM BELISARIO.

THE MORAL.

History affords us many instances of the ruin of states, by the prosecution of measures ill suited to the temper and genius of their people. The ordaining of laws in favour of *one*

[1] "During the disputes between the two countries, Dr. Franklin invented a little *emblematical design*, intended to represent the supposed state of Great Britain and her colonies, should the former persist in her oppressive measures, restraining the latter's trade, and taxing their people by laws made by a legislature in which they were not represented. It was engraved on a copper plate. Dr. Franklin had many of them struck off on cards, on the back of which he occasionally wrote his notes. It was also printed on a half-sheet of paper, with the *explanation* and *moral*." — W. T. F.

part of the nation, to the prejudice and oppression of *another*, is certainly the most erroneous and mistaken policy. An *equal* dispensation of protection, rights, privileges, and advantages, is what every part is entitled to, and ought to enjoy; it being a matter of no moment to the state, whether a subject grows rich and flourishing on the Thames or the Ohio, in Edinburgh or Dublin. These measures never fail to create great and violent jealousies and animosities between the people favoured and the people oppressed; whence a total separation of affections, interests, political obligations, and all manner of connexions, necessarily ensue, by which the whole state is weakened, and perhaps ruined for ever!

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762. ON A PROPOSED ACT OF PARLIAMENT FOR PREVENTING EMIGRATION[1] (L. C.)

TO THE PRINTER OF *THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.*

SIR,

You give us in your paper of Tuesday, the 16th of November, what is called "The Plan of an Act to be proposed at the next Meeting of Parliament to prevent the Emigration of our People." I know not from what authority it comes; but, as it is very circumstantial, I suppose some such plan may be really under consideration, and that this is thrown

[1] A contemporary copy is in L. C., signed by Franklin: "A Friend to the Poor," and endorsed by him "Paper Written in England by B. F. to discourage the intended Act for preventing Emigration." — ED.

out to feel the pulse of the public. I shall therefore, with your leave, give my sentiments of it in your paper.

During a century and a half that Englishmen have been at liberty to remove if they pleased to America, we have heard of no law to restrain that liberty, and confine them as prisoners in this Island. Nor do we perceive any ill effects produced by their emigration. Our estates, far from diminishing in value through a want of tenants, have been in that period more than doubled; the lands in general are better cultivated; their increased produce finds a ready sale at an advanced price, and the complaint has for some time been, not that we want mouths to consume our meat, but that we want meat for our number of mouths.

Why then is such a restraining law *now* thought necessary? A paragraph in the same paper from the *Edinburgh Courant*, may perhaps throw some light upon this question. We are there told, "that one thousand five hundred people have emigrated to America from the shire of Sutherland within these two years, and carried with them seven thousand five hundred pounds sterling, which exceeds a year's rent of the whole county; that the single consideration of the *misery* which most of these people *must suffer* in America, independent of the loss of men and money to the mother country, should engage the attention, not only of the *landed interest, but of administration.*" The humane writer of this paragraph may, I fancy, console himself with the reflection, that perhaps the apprehended future sufferings of those emigrants will never exist; for that it was probably the authentic accounts they had received from friends already settled there, of the felicity to be enjoyed in that country, with a thorough knowledge of their own misery at home, which

induced their removal. And, as a politician, he may be comforted by assuring himself, that, if they really meet with greater misery in America, their future letters lamenting it, will be more credited than the *Edinburgh Courant*, and effectually, without a law, put a stop to the emigration. It seems some of the Scottish chiefs, who delight no longer to live upon their estates in the honourable independence they were born to, among their respecting tenants, but choose rather a life of luxury, though among the dependents of a court, have lately raised their rents most grievously, to support the expense. The consuming of those rents in London, though equally prejudicial to the poor county of Sutherland, no Edinburgh news paper complains of; but now, that the oppressed tenants take flight, and carry with them what might have supported the landlord's London magnificence, he begins to *feel* for the MOTHER COUNTRY, and its enormous *loss* of seven thousand five hundred pounds carried to her colonies! Administration is called upon to remedy the evil, by another abridgment of ENGLISH LIBERTY. And surely administration should do something for these gentry, as they do any thing for administration.

But is there not an easier remedy? Let them return to their family seats, live among their people, and, instead of fleecing and skinning, patronize and cherish them; promote their interest, encourage their industry, and make their situation comfortable. If the poor folks are happier at home than they can be abroad, they will not lightly be prevailed with to cross the ocean. But can their lord blame them for leaving home in search of better living, when he first set them the example?

I would consider the proposed law,

1st. As to the NECESSITY of it.
2dly. The PRACTICABILITY.
3dly. The POLICY, if practicable.
And, 4thly. The JUSTICE of it.

Pray spare me room for a few words on each of these heads.

1st. As to the NECESSITY of it.

If any country has more people than can be comfortably subsisted in it, some of those who are incommoded may be induced to emigrate. As long as the new situation shall be *far* preferable to the old, the emigration may possibly continue. But when many of those, who at home interfered with others of the same rank (in the competition for farms, shops, business, offices, and other means of subsistence), are gradually withdrawn, the inconvenience of that competition ceases; the number remaining no longer half starve each other; they find they can now subsist comfortably, and though perhaps not quite so well as those who have left them, yet, the inbred attachment to a native country is sufficient to overbalance a moderate difference; and thus the emigration ceases naturally. The waters of the ocean may move in currents from one quarter of the globe to another, as they happen in some places to be accumulated, and in others diminished; but no law, beyond the law of gravity, is necessary to prevent their abandoning any coast entirely. Thus the different degrees of happiness of different countries and situations find, or rather make, their level by the flowing of people from one to another; and where that level is once found, the removals cease. Add to this, that even a real deficiency of people in any country, occasioned by a wasting war or pes-

tilence, is speedily supplied by earlier and more prolific marriages, encouraged by the greater facility of obtaining the means of subsistence. So that a country half depopulated would soon be repeopled, till the means of subsistence were equalled by the population. All increase beyond that point must perish, or flow off into more favourable situations. Such overflowings there have been of mankind in all ages, or we should not now have had so many nations. But to apprehend absolute depopulation from that cause, and call for a law to prevent it, is calling for a law to stop the Thames, lest its waters, by what leave it daily at Gravesend, should be quite exhausted. Such a law, therefore, I do not conceive to be NECESSARY.

2dly. As to the PRACTICABILITY.

When I consider the attempts of this kind that have been made, first in the time of Archbishop Laud, by orders of Council, to stop the Puritans, who were flying from his persecutions into New England, and next by Louis the Fourteenth, to retain in his kingdom the persecuted Huguenots; and how ineffectual all the power of our crown, with which the Archbishop armed himself, and all the more absolute power of that great French monarch, were, to obtain the end for which they were exerted; and when I consider, too, the extent of coast to be guarded, and the multitude of cruisers necessary effectually to make a prison of the Island for this confinement of free Englishmen, who naturally love liberty, and would probably by the very restraint be more stimulated to break through it; I cannot but think such a law IMPRACTICABLE. The offices would not be applied to for licenses,

the ports would not be used for embarkation. And yet the people disposed to leave us would, as the Puritans did, get away by shipfuls.

3dly. As to the Policy of the Law.

Since I have shown there is no danger of depopulating Britain, but that the place of those that depart will soon be filled up equal to the means of obtaining a livelihood, let us see whether there are not some general *advantages* to be expected from the present emigration. The new settlers in America, finding plenty of subsistence, and land easily acquired whereon to seat their children, seldom postpone marriage through fear of poverty. Their natural increase is therefore in proportion far beyond what it would have been, if they had remained here. New farms are daily everywhere forming in those immense forests; new towns and villages rising; hence a growing demand for our merchandise, to the greater employment of our manufacturers, and the enriching of our merchants. By this natural increase of people, the strength of the empire is increased; men are multiplied, out of whom new armies may be formed on occasion, or the old recruited. The long-extended seacoast, too, of that vast country, the great maritime commerce of its ports with each other, its many navigable rivers and lakes, and its plentiful fisheries, breed multitudes of seamen, besides those created and supported by its voyages to Europe; a thriving nursery this, for the manning of our fleets in time of war, and maintaining our importance among foreign nations by that navy, which is also our best security against invasions from our enemies. An extension of empire by conquest of inhabited

countries is not so easily obtained, it is not so easily secured; it alarms more the neighbouring states; it is more subject to revolts, and more apt to occasion new wars.

The increase of dominion by colonies proceeding from yourselves, and by the natural growth of your own people, cannot be complained of by your neighbours as an injury; none have a right to be offended with it. Your new possessions are therefore more secure, they are more cheaply gained, they are attached to your nation by natural alliance and affection; and thus they afford an additional strength more certainly to be depended on, than any that can be acquired by a conquering power, though at an immense expense of blood and treasure. These, methinks, are national advantages, that more than equiponderate with the inconveniences suffered by a few Scotch or Irish landlords, who perhaps may find it necessary to abate a little of their present luxury, or of those advanced rents they now so unfeelingly demand. From these considerations, I think I may conclude, that the restraining law proposed would, if practicable, be IMPOLITIC.

4thly. As to the JUSTICE of it.

I apprehend that every Briton, who is made unhappy at home, has a right to remove from any part of his King's dominions into those of any other prince, where he can be happier. If this should be denied me, at least it will be allowed, that he has a right to remove into any other part of the same dominions. For by this right so many Scotchmen remove into England, easing their own country of its supernumeraries, and benefiting ours by their industry. And this is the case with those who go to America. Will not

these Scottish lairds be satisfied unless a law passes to pin down all tenants to the estate they are born on, (*adscripti glebæ,*) to be bought and sold with it? God has given to the beasts of the forest, and to the birds of the air, a right, when their subsistence fails in one country, to migrate to another, where they can get a more comfortable living; and shall man be denied a privilege enjoyed by brutes, merely to gratify a few avaricious landlords? Must misery be made *permanent*, and suffered by *many* for the emolument of *one;* while the increase of human beings is prevented, and thousands of their offsprings stifled, as it were, in the birth, that this petty Pharaoh may enjoy an *excess* of opulence? God commands to increase and replenish the earth; the proposed law would forbid increasing, and confine Britons to their present number, keeping half that number too in wretchedness. The common people of Britain and of Ireland contributed by the taxes they paid, and by the blood they lost, to the success of that war, which brought into our hands the vast unpeopled territories of North America; a country favored by Heaven with all the advantages of climate and soil. Germans are now pouring into it, to take possession of it, and fill it with their posterity; and shall Britons and Irelanders, who have a much better right to it, be forbidden a share of it, and, instead of enjoying there the plenty and happiness that might reward their industry, be compelled to remain here in poverty and misery? Considerations such as these persuade me, that the proposed law would be both UNJUST and INHUMAN.

If then it is *unnecessary*, *impracticable*, *impolitic*, and *unjust*, I hope our Parliament will never receive the bill, but leave landlords to their own remedy, an abatement of rents,

and frugality of living; and leave the liberties of Britons and Irishmen at least as extensive as it found them. I am, Sir, yours, &c.

A FRIEND TO THE POOR.

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763. THE INTENDED SPEECH FOR THE OPENING OF THE FIRST SESSION OF THE PRESENT PARLIAMENT VIZ. NOV. 29, 1774 (A. P. S.)

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN:[1]

It gives me much concern that I am obliged at the opening of this Parliament to inform you that none of the measures wch I adopted upon the advice of my late Parl^t^ in respect to the disturbances of my American colonies have produced those salutary effects, wch relying upon the supposed wisdom of their deliberations I had been induced to expect. I therefore sent that Parl^t^ apacking rather abruptly, & have called you in their place to pick a little advice out of your wise heads upon some matters of the greatest weight & importance relating to a sort of Crusade that I have upon my hands. I must needs tell you that the business if you choose to undertake it for me will be a seven or ten years job at least. You must know then that my ministers have put me upon a project to undertake the reduction of the whole continent of North America to unconditional

[1] This extraordinary prophecy and satire is found in Volume 44 of the Franklin papers in A. P. S. It was evidently written by Franklin in 1774 and given by him to David Hartley, who, happening upon it among his private papers after the conclusion of the war, sent a copy of it to Franklin endorsed with name and date as above. — ED.

submission. They w^d^ have persuaded me to coax you into this project by representing it to you as a matter very easily to be done in a twinkling, and to make you believe that my subjects in America whom you have always hitherto considered as brave men are no better than a wretched pack of cowardly run a ways, & that 500 men with whips w^d^ make them all dance to the tune of Yankee Doodle; but I w^d^ tell you no such thing because I am very sure if you meddle with it that you will find it a very different sort of business.

Now Gentlemen of the House of Commons I give you this fair notice for yourselves & your Constituents. If you undertake this job, it will cost you at the least farthing a good round sum of 40 or 50 millions; 40 or 50 thousands of your Constituents will get knocked on the head and then you are to consider what the rest of you will be gainers by the bargain even if you succeed. The trade of a ruined & desolated Country is always inconsiderable, its revenues trifling; the expence of subjecting & retaining it in subjection certain & inevitable. On the other side sh^d^ you prove unsuccessfull, sh^d^ that connection wch we wish most ardently to maintain be dissolved, sh^d^ my ministers exhaust your treasures & waste the blood of your Countrymen in vain will they not deliver you weak & defenceless to your natural enemies.

You must know this is not the first time that the Serpent has been whispering into my ear, Tax America. Cost what it will, make them your heavers of wood & drawers of water. Let them feel that your little finger is thicker than the loins of all your ancestors. But I was wiser than all that, I sent to Ld Rockingham & the advice

that he gave me was this, not to burn my fingers in the business, that it was ten to one against our making any hand of it at all, that they were not worth shearing & at best that we sh[d] raise a cursed outcry & get but little wool. I shall remember his last advice to me as long as I live. Speak good words to them and they will be thy servants for ever.

And now my Lords and Gentlemen

I have stated the whole matter fairly & squarely before you. It is your own business, and if you are not content as you are, look to the rest for yourselves. But if I were to give you a word of advice it should be to remind you of the Italian epitaph upon a poor fool that kill'd himself with quacking

Stava ben, per star meglio, sto qui.

that is to say. I was well, I would be better, I took Physick and died.

UNSIGNED.

Marked on the reverse side of the last sheet:

D. HARTLEY.

October 3, '86.

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764. TO THOMAS CUSHING (A. P. S.)

London, Jan. 28, 1775.

SIR,

I have been favour'd with yours of Sept. 24 & Oct. 26, from Philad[a] Nov. 14 and Dec. 5 from Boston, and thank you for the Information communicated. It gives my Mind some Ease to learn, that such good Care is taken both by the General and the Town to prevent Mischief. I hope

that Care will continue, and be effectual. And that people will be persuaded to wait with Patience the Event of the Application of the Congress to the King, and the subsequent Result of the ensuing Congress thereupon.

Lord Chatham mov'd last Week in the House of Lords, that an Address be presented to his Majesty humbly beseeching him to withdraw the Troops from Boston, as a Step towards opening the way to Conciliatory Measures; but, after a long and warm Debate, the Motion was rejected by a majority of 77 to 18; and open Declarations were made, by the ministerial Side, of the Intention to enforce the late Acts. To this End, three more Regiments of Foot and one of Dragoons, seven hundred Marines, Six Sloops of War, and two Frigates, are now under Orders for America.

Petitions, however are thronging into the House from all Quarters, praying that healing Measures may be taken to restore the Commerce. The Petition from the Congress was brought into each House among other Papers by the Ministers, without any particular Recommendation of its Consideration of the House from his Majesty.

General Gage's Letters being read in the House of Commons, it appears from one of them, that it had been recommended to him by Lord Dartmouth to disarm some of the Colonies; which he seems to approve, if it had been practicable, but says it is not, till he is Master of the Country.

It is impossible to say what Turn the Parliament may take before the Session is over. All depends on the Ministers, who possibly may change their Minds, when they find the Merchants and Manufacturers universally dissatisfied with their present Conduct; but you cannot rely upon this, and your chief Dependence must be on your own Virtue

and Unanimity, which, under God, will in time bring you thro' all Difficulties. I am with great respect, Sir, &c,

B. FRANKLIN.

765. TO CHARLES THOMSON [1]

London, Feby 5, 1775.

DEAR SIR,

I received duly your Favours of Nov. 1, by Capt Falconer, and afterwards that of Oct. 26, both inclosing the Letter from the Congress, and the Petition to the King. Immediately on Receipt of the first, I wrote to every one of the other Gentlemen nominated, and desired a meeting to consult on the mode of presenting the Petition committed to our Care. Three of them, viz.[t] Mr. Burke,[2] Mr. Wentworth, and Mr. Life, declined being concerned in it, and without consulting each other gave the same reason, viz.[t] that they had no Instructions relating to it from their Constituents. Mr. Garth was out of Town; so it rested on Mr. Bollan, Mr. Lee, and myself. We took Council with our best Friends, and were advised to present it through Lord Dartmouth, that being the regular official method, and the only one in which we might on occasion call for an Answer.[3]

We accordingly waited on his Lordship with it, who would not immediately undertake to deliver it, but requested it might be left with him to peruse, which was done. He

[1] From the original in the New York Historical Society. — ED.

[2] Mr. Burke was at this time agent for New York. — ED.

[3] It was resolved in Congress, October 25th, 1774, "That the Address to the King be enclosed in a letter to the several colony agents, in order that the same may be by them presented to his Majesty; and that the agents be requested to call in the aid of such noblemen and gentlemen as are esteemed firm friends to American liberty." — S.

found nothing in it improper for him to present, and, afterwards sending for us, he informed us, that he had presented the Petition to his Majesty, who had been pleased to receive it very graciously, and to command him to tell us it contained Matters of such Importance, that, as soon as they met, he would lay it before his two Houses of Parliament.

We then consulted on the publication, and were advised by wise and able men, Friends of America, whose names it will not be proper to mention, by no means to publish it till it should be before Parliament, as it would be deemed disrespectful to the King. We flattered ourselves, from the answer given by Lord D. that the King would have been pleased to recommend it to the Consideration of Parliament by some message; but we were mistaken. It came down among a great Heap of Letters of Intelligence from Governors and officers in America, Newspapers, Pamphlets, Handbills, &c., from that Country, the last in the List, and was laid upon the Table with them, undistinguished by any particular Recommendation of it to the Notice of either House; and I do not find, that it has had any further notice taken of it as yet, than that it has been read as well as the other Papers.

To draw it into the attention of the House, we petitioned to be heard upon it, but were not permitted; and, by the Resolution of the Committee of the whole House, which I enclose, you will see that it has made little Impression; and, from the constant Refusal, Neglect, or Discouragement of American Petitions, these many years past, our Country will at last be convinced, that Petitions are odious here, and that Petitioning is far from being a probable means of obtaining Redress. A firm, steady, and faithful adherence

to the Non-Consumption Agreement, is the only thing to be depended on; it begins already to work, (as you will see in the votes of the House), by producing applications from the merchants and manufacturers, and it must finally lead Parliament into reasonable Measures.

At present, the ministers are encouraged to proceed by the Assurances they receive from America, that the people are not unanimous; that a very great part of them disapprove the proceedings of the Congress, and would break thro' them, if there was in the Country an Army sufficient to support these Friends, as they are called, of Government. They rely, too, on being able to divide us still farther by various means; for they seem to have no conception that such a thing as public Spirit or public Virtue anywhere exists. I trust they will find themselves totally mistaken. The Congress is in high Esteem here among all the Friends of Liberty, and their Papers much admir'd; perhaps nothing of the kind has been more thoroughly published, or more universally read. Lord Camden spoke highly of the Americans in general, and of the Congress particularly, in the House of Lords. Lord Chatham said, that, taking the whole together, and considering the members of the Congress as the unsolicited, and unbiased Choice of a great, free, and enlightened People; their Unanimity, their Moderation, and their Wisdom, he thought it the most honourable Assembly of men, that had ever been known; that the Histories of Greece and Rome gave us nothing equal to it. Lord Shelburne would not admit, that the Parliament of Britain could be comparable with it, a Parliament obeying the Dictates of a Ministry, who in nine cases out of ten were governed by their under Secretaries.

You will see, among the papers herewith sent the motion made by Lord Chatham, as preparatory to his plan, viz: that the Troops should be removed from Boston. I send also a Copy of the Plan itself, which you may be assured is genuine. The Speeches hitherto published as his, during the Session, are spurious. The Duke of Richmond and the Duke of Manchester appeared for us also in the debate, and spoke extremely well. Lord Chatham's Bill, tho' on so important a Subject, and offered by so great a Character, and supported by such able and learned speakers as Camden, &c. &c., was treated with as much contempt as they could have shown to a Ballad offered by a drunken Porter. It was rejected on a slight reading, without being suffered even to lie on the Table for the perusal of the members.

The House of Commons, too, have shown an equal Rashness and Precipitation in matters that required the most weighty deliberation, refusing to hear, and entering hastily into violent Measures; and yet this is the Government, by whose Supreme Authority, we are to have our Throats cut, if we do not acknowledge, and whose dictates we are implicitly to obey, while their conduct hardly entitles them to Common Respect.

The agents have not time to make so many Copies of the papers sent with this, nor, indeed, of our Letters to the Speakers of the several Assemblies, as would be necessary to send one for each; we therefore send only two, one per Falconer, and the other per Lawrence to New York, requesting, that you would get them copied at Philadelphia, and forward them northward and southward, one to each Speaker, by the earliest Conveyance. It is thought by our Friends, that Lord Chatham's Plan, if it had been enacted

here, would have prevented present mischief, and might have been the foundation of a lasting good agreement; for, tho' in some Points it might not perfectly coincide with our Ideas and Wishes, we might have proposed Modifications or Variations where we should judge them necessary; and in fine, the two Countries might have met in perfect union. I hope, therefore, it will be treated with respect by our writers, and its author honoured for the Attempt; for though he has put some particulars into it, as I think merely by way of complying a little with the general prejudices here, and to make more material Parts go better down, yet I am persuaded he would not otherwise be tenacious of those Parts, meaning sincerely to make us contented and happy, as far as consistent with the general welfare.

I need not caution you to let no part of this Letter be copied or printed. With great Esteem, I am, Sir, your Affectionate Friend and humble servant.

[B. F.]

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766. TO SAMUEL TUCKER, AND OTHERS (A. P. S.)

London, Feb. 14. 1775.

GENTLEMEN

In my last I informed you of my Attendance on the Board of Trade upon your Acts passed in March last, the Objections made to some of them particularly the Paper Money Act with the Answers I gave to those Objections; and that all were likely to pass, except those for lowering the Interest of Money, and for the Relief of an insolvent Debtor. —

Petitions are come up to Parliament from all the Trading

Ports, and manufacturing Towns, concern'd in the American Commerce, setting forth the Loss & Ruin they are likely to suffer by the Stop put to that Commerce, & praying that lenient Measures may be adopted for restoring it. — The N. American & W. India Merchants in London have also petitioned to the same Purpose: But little Notice has hitherto been taken of those Petitions, and both Houses have address'd the King declaring a Rebellion to be in Massachusetts Bay, in consequence whereof more Troops are about to be sent thither, & Administration seems determin'd on reducing the Colonies by Force to a solemn Acknowledgment of the Power claim'd by Parliament of mak^g^ Laws to bind the Colonies in all Cases whatsoever: A Bill is preparing to deprive the four New England Colonies of their Fishery, & other Severities are threatened. — Yet many here are confident, that if the Non-Consumption of British Manufactures in America, is soberly and steadily adher'd to another Year, those Measures will all be revers'd, and our Rights acknowledg'd. —

I inclose Lord Chatham's propos'd Plan of Conciliation, which was hastily & harshly rejected by the Lords. — The Friends of America generally wish it had been accepted; because tho' some Exceptions might probably be made there to Parts of it, and certain Explanations or Modifications required or propos'd, yet it would have serv'd as the Basis of a Treaty for Agreement, and in the meantime have prevented Mischief & Bloodshed. —

With great Respect, I am, Gentlemen

Your most obed^t^ hum^e^ Servt

B. FRANKLIN

767. TO JAMES BOWDOIN[1]

London, February 25, 1775.

DEAR SIR,

I received your kind letter of September 6th by Mr. Quincy. I thought it might be of use to publish a part of it, which was done accordingly. But the measures it so justly censures are still persisted in, and will, I trust, continue to produce effects directly contrary to those intended. They will unite, instead of dividing us, strengthen and make us more resolute, instead of intimidating us, and work our honour and advantage, instead of the disgrace and ruin designed for us.

A bill is now in hand to confine the trade of the four New England colonies to Britain and the West Indies only, and to prohibit their fishery. Other provinces have done as offensive things, but *Whiggism* is thought to be more thoroughly the principle in New England, and that is now an *unpardonable* sin. The rest, however, are to have their punishment in their turn, though perhaps less severe. That is, if this Tory ministry continues in power; but, though they have by the late deceptive motion, amused many people here, so as to give an appearance as if they intended pacific measures, on which the stocks, which were falling apace, have risen again; yet, when this deceit is understood, and time proves the intended offer to America futile and ineffectual, the redoubled clamour of the trading, manufacturing, and Whig interests here will infallibly overthrow all the enemies of America, and produce an acknowledgment of her rights and satisfaction for her injuries.

[1] First printed by Sparks.

If we continue firm and united, and resolutely persist in the non-consumption agreement, this adverse ministry cannot possibly stand another year. And surely the great body of our people, the farmers and artificers, will not find it hard to keep an agreement by which they both *save* and *gain*. The traders only can suffer, and, where they do really suffer, some compensation should if possible be made them. Hitherto the conduct of the colonies has given them great reputation all over Europe. By a brave perseverance, with prudence and moderation, not forward in acting offensively, but resolute in defence when necessary, they will establish a respectable character both for wisdom and courage; and then they will find friends everywhere. The eyes of all Christendom are now upon us, and our honour as a people is become a matter of the utmost consequence to be taken care of. If we tamely give up our rights in this contest, a century to come will not restore us in the opinion of the world; we shall be stamped with the character of dastards, poltrons, and fools; and be despised and trampled upon, not by this haughty, insolent nation only, but by all mankind. Present inconveniences are, therefore, to be borne with fortitude, and better times expected.

"Informes hyemes reducit
Jupiter; idem
Summovet. Non si male nunc, et olim
Sic erit."

I am much pleased with Mr. Quincy. It is a thousand pities his strength of body is not equal to his strength of mind. His zeal for the public, like that of David for God's house, will, I fear, eat him up.

I hope Mrs. Bowdoin's health is fully established. Make

my respectful compliments acceptable to her; and believe me ever, with sincere and great esteem, Dear Sir, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. I never could learn the cause of Mr. Temple's being displaced. The ministry refused to give any reason for it. I have imagined, that it was a suspicion of his being the author of some pieces in the papers reflecting on their measures.

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768. TO JOSEPH GALLOWAY (A. P. S.)

London, Feb. 25, 1775.

DEAR FRIEND,

In my last per Falconer I mention'd to you my showing your Plan of Union to Lords Chatham and Camden. I now hear, that you had sent it to Lord Dartmouth. Lord Gower I believe alluded to it, when in the House he censur'd the Congress severely, as first resolving to receive a Plan for uniting the Colonies to the Mother Country, and afterwards rejecting it, and ordering their first Resolution to be eras'd out of their Minutes. Permit me to hint to you, that it is whisper'd here by ministerial People, that yourself and Mr. Jay of New York are Friends to their Measures, and give them private Intelligence of the Views of the Popular or Country Party in America. I do not believe this; but I thought it a Duty of Friendship to acquaint you with the Report.

I have not heard what Objections were made to the Plan in the Congress, nor would I make more than this one, that, when I consider the extream Corruption prevalent

among all Orders of Men in this old rotten State, and the glorious publick Virtue so predominant in our rising Country, I cannot but apprehend more Mischief than Benefit from a closer Union. I fear they will drag us after them in all the plundering Wars, which their desperate Circumstances, Injustice, and Rapacity, may prompt them to undertake; and their wide-wasting Prodigality and Profusion is a Gulph that will swallow up every Aid we may distress ourselves to afford them.

Here Numberless and needless Places, enormous Salaries, Pensions, Perquisites, Bribes, groundless Quarrels, foolish Expeditions, false Accounts or no Accounts, Contracts and Jobbs, devour all Revenue, and produce continual Necessity in the Midst of natural Plenty. I apprehend, therefore, that to unite us intimately will only be to corrupt and poison us also. It seems like Mezentius's coupling and binding together the dead and the living,

> "Tormenti genus, et sanie taboque fluentes,
> Complexu in misero, longâ sic morte necabat."

However, I would try any thing, and bear any thing that can be borne with Safety to our just Liberties, rather than engage in a War with such near relations, unless compelled to it by dire Necessity in our own Defence.

But, should that Plan be again brought forward, I imagine, that, before establishing the Union, it would be necessary to agree on the following preliminary Articles.

1. The Declaratory Act of Parliament to be repeal'd.

2. All Acts of Parl^{t}, or Parts of Acts, laying Duties on the Colonies to be repeal'd.

3. All Acts of Parl^{t} altering the Charters, or Constitutions, or Laws of any Colony, to be repeal'd.

4. All Acts of Parl[t] restraining Manufactures to be repeal'd.

5. Those Parts of the Navigation Acts, which are for the Good of the whole Empire, such as require that Ships in the Trade should be British or Plantation built, and navigated by ¾ British Subjects, with the Duties necessary for regulating Commerce, to be reënacted by both Parliaments.

6. Then, to induce the Americans to see the regulating Acts faithfully executed, it would be well to give the Duties collected in each Colony to the Treasury of that Colony, and let the Govr and Assembly appoint the Officers to collect them, and proportion their Salaries. Thus the Business will be cheaper and better done, and the Misunderstandings between the two Countries, now created and fomented by the unprincipled Wretches, generally appointed from England, be entirely prevented.

These are hasty Thoughts submitted to your Consideration.

You will see the new Proposal of Lord North, made on Monday last, which I have sent to the Committee.[1] Those

[1] This proposal, which was introduced into Parliament by Lord North on the 20th of February, is as follows: "That, when the Governor, Council, and Assembly, or General Court of his Majesty's provinces, or colonies, shall propose to make provision according to their respective conditions, circumstances, and situations, for contributing their proportion to the common defence; such proportion to be raised under the authorities of the General Court, or General Assembly, of such province or colony, and disposable by Parliament; and shall engage to make provision also for the support of the civil government, and the administration of justice in such province or colony; it will be proper, if such proposal shall be approved by his Majesty in Parliament, and for so long as such provision shall be made accordingly, to forbear in respect of such province or colony, to levy any duties, tax, or assessment, or to impose any further duty, tax, or assessment, except only such duties as it may be expedient to impose for the regulation of commerce; the net produce of the duties last mentioned, to be carried to the account of such province, colony, or plantation respectively." — "Almon's Parliamentary Register," Vol. I, p. 196. — Ed.

in Administration, who are for violent Measures, are said to dislike it. The others rely upon it as a means of *dividing*, and by that means subduing us. But I cannot conceive that any Colony will undertake to grant a Revenue to a Government, that holds a Sword over their Heads with a Threat to strike the moment they cease to give, or do not give so much as it is pleas'd to expect. In such a Situation, where is the Right of giving our own Property freely, or the Right to judge of our own Ability to give? It seems to me the Language of a Highwayman, who, with a Pistol in your Face, says, "Give me your Purse, and then I will not put my Hand into your Pocket. But give me all your Money, or I will shoot you through the Head." With great and sincere Esteem, I am, &c. B. FRANKLIN.

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769. TO JOSIAH QUINCY [1]

London, February 26, 1775.

DEAR SIR,

I received, and perused with great pleasure, the letter you honoured me with, by your amiable and valuable son. I thank you for introducing me to the acquaintance of a person so deserving of esteem for his public and private virtues. I hope for your sake, and that of his friends and country, that his present indisposition may wear off, and his health be established. His coming over has been of great service to our cause, and would have been much greater, if his constitution would have borne the fatigues of being more frequently in company. He can acquaint you so fully with the state of things here, that my enlarging upon them

[1] Sparks was the first editor to include this letter. — ED.

will be unnecessary. I most sincerely wish him a prosperous voyage, and a happy meeting with his friends and family; and to you, my old dear friend, and the rest of those you love, every kind of felicity; being, with the truest esteem and affection, yours, B. FRANKLIN.

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770. TO CHARLES THOMSON[1] (L. C.)

London, March 13, 1775.

DEAR SIR,

I have some Thoughts of going with Osborne; but as I may be disappointed in that, I write a few Lines, to acquaint you, that the Petition of the Congress has lain upon the Table of both Houses ever since it was sent down to them among the Papers that accompany'd it from above, and has had no particular Notice taken of it; our Petition to be heard in support of it, having been, as I wrote you before, rejected with Scorn in the Commons; which must satisfy the future Congress that nothing is to be expected here from that Mode of Application.

Nearly all the manufacturing and trading Towns that are concern'd with America have now petition'd Parliament to

[1] This letter was discovered by Mr. Worthington C. Ford in a volume of the Continental Congress Papers containing "Letters of John Hancock and Miscellaneous Papers." Franklin had acknowledged the receipt of the Petition to the King in a letter to Thomson, dated February 5, 1775. "This second letter on the Petition, also unsigned, has escaped notice, although it is wholly in Franklin's well-known writing. Even the clerk in the Secretary's office who at a later day indorsed or docketed the paper was strangely ignorant of its origin, for he wrote: 'Letter, March 19, 1775. Anonymous from London to C: Thomson, Esq.' Indeed the year of the indorsement looks more like 1795 than 1775. The original is in the Papers of the Continental Congress, Volume 58, folio 343, now in the Library of Congress." — W. C. FORD.

do something for healing the Differences that threaten Ruin to their Commerce. Administration, which has appear'd to stagger several times within these two Months, must have given way before this time; but have been supported chiefly by Accounts from America that all was fluctuating there, and that a little longer Perseverance would triumph over the Factions, as they are called, and bring the whole Continent to full and unconditional Submission. A Bill has therefore pass'd the Commons, to deprive New England of its Fishery, as well as its Trade, and a new Bill is order'd in, to extend the Restraints on Trade to New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina. Of New York they have great Hopes, and some of North Carolina, which Colonies are therefore omitted. All the Colonies, but those of New England, it is given out, may still make Peace for themselves, by acknowledging the Supreme unlimited Power of Parliament: But those are absolutely to be conquered: After which possibly they may obtain a Quebec Constitution. — More Troops are accordingly preparing to go over. And yet with all this Face of Resolution, it is certain that the Ministers are far from being cordially united in these Measures; that some of them tremble for their Places, and all for the Events as it relates to the Publick. While wise Observers are confident, that if America can hold strictly to its Non-Consumption Agreement another Year, it is impossible they can stand the universal Clamour which begins to thicken round their Heads, and that they must therefore be overthrown, and routed; and the Friends of America come into Administration. It is indeed evident that the present Set are apprehensive of this, since to secure themselves against the Danger of Impeachment, they take care in every Step to get Parliament

to lead and advise the Measures to be taken: Contrary to the ancient Practice of the Executive Power in taking its Measures as Occasion requir'd, and depending on their Rectitude for the future Approbation of Parliament.

I flatter myself that neither New York nor any other Colony will be cajol'd into a Separation from the common Interest. Our only Safety is in the firmest Union, and keeping strict Faith with each other. If any Colony suffers itself to be detach'd from the common Cause by the artful Management of Ministers, that Colony will first incur the Detestation of the rest; and when that is become the Case, and none can be concern'd at any ill Usage it may receive, it will on some Pretence or other be treated just as roughly as the others whom it had so basely abandon'd.

With great Esteem, I am, Sir, Your Most
obedient humble Servant
[B. FRANKLIN.]

771. AN ACCOUNT

OF

NEGOTIATIONS IN LONDON

FOR EFFECTING A RECONCILIATION BETWEEN

GREAT BRITAIN AND THE AMERICAN COLONIES.[1]

(D. S. W.)

On board the Pensylvania Packet, Captain Osborne, bound to Philad[a], March 22, 1775.

DEAR SON,

Having now a little Leisure for Writing, I will endeavour, as I promised you, to recollect what Particulars I can of the Negociations I have lately been concern'd in, with regard to the *Misunderstandings between Great Britain and America.*

During the Recess of the last Parliament, which had pass'd the severe Acts against the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, the Minority having been sensible of their Weakness, as an Effect of their Want of Union among themselves, began to think seriously of a Coalition. For they saw in the Violence of these American Measures, if persisted in, a Hazard of Dismembring, Weakning, and perhaps Ruining the British Empire. This inclin'd some of them to propose such an Union with each other, as might be more respectable in the

[1] This "Account" exists in two Mss. in the Stevens Collection: 1. an original draft in the author's handwriting; 2. a transcript corrected by Franklin. It was written during the author's passage to America. It was not published until 1817, when it was included in W. T. Franklin's edition of his grandfather's works. It is here printed from the original Ms. — ED.

ensuing Session, have more Weight in Opposition, and be a Body out of which a new Ministry might easily be formed, should the ill Success of the late Measures, and the Firmness of the Colonies in resisting them, make a Change appear necessary to the King.

I took some Pains to promote this Disposition, in Conversations with several of the principal among the Minority of both Houses, whom I beseech'd and conjur'd most earnestly not to suffer, by their little Misunderstandings, so glorious a Fabric as the present British Empire to be demolished by these Blunderers; and for their Encouragement assur'd them, as far as my Opinions could give any Assurance, of the *Firmness* and *Unanimity* of America, the Continuance of which was what they had frequent Doubts of, and appeared extreamly apprehensive and anxious concerning it.

From the Time of the Affront given me at the Council Board in January 1774, I had never attended the Levee of any Minister. I made no Justification of myself from the Charges brought against me: I made no Return of the Injury by abusing my Adversaries; but held a cool, sullen silence, reserving myself to some future Opportunity; for which Conduct I had several Reasons not necessary here to specify. Now and then I heard it said, that the Reasonable Part of the Administration were asham'd of the Treatment they had given me. I suspected that some who told me this, did it to draw from me my Sentiments concerning it, and perhaps my Purposes: But I said little or nothing upon the Subject. In the mean time their Measures with regard to New England failing of the Success that had been confidently expected, and finding themselves more and more embarrass'd, they began,

(as it seems,) to think of making use of me, if they could, to assist in disengaging them. But it was too humiliating to think of applying to me openly and directly; and therefore it was contriv'd to obtain what they could of my Sentiments thro' others.

The Accounts from America during the Recess all manifested that the Measures of Administration had neither divided nor intimidated the People there; that, on the contrary they were more and more united and determined; and that a non-importation Agreement was likely to take place. The Ministry thence apprehending that this, by distressing the trading and manufacturing Towns, might influence Votes against the Court in the Elections for a new Parliament, which were in course to come on the succeeding Year, suddenly and unexpectedly dissolv'd the old one, and ordered the Choice of a new one within the shortest time admitted by Law, before the Inconveniences of that Agreement could begin to be felt, or produce any such Effect.

When I came to England in 1757, you may remember I made several Attempts to be introduc'd to Lord Chatham (at that time first Minister), on account of my Pensilvania Business, but without Success. He was then too great a Man, or too much occupy'd in Affairs of greater Moment. I was therefore oblig'd to content myself with a kind of non-apparent and unacknowledg'd Communication thro' Mr. Potter and Mr. Wood, his Secretaries, who seem'd to cultivate an Acquaintance with me by their Civilities, and drew from me what Information I could give relative to the American War, with my Sentiments occasionally on Measures that were proposed or advised by others, [which gave me the Opportunity of recommending and enforcing the Utility

of conquering Canada.][1] I afterwards considered Mr. Pitt as an *Inaccessible.* I admired him at a distance, and made no more Attempts for a nearer Acquaintance. I had only once or twice the Satisfaction of hearing thro' Lord Shelb^ne^, and I think Lord Stanhope, that he did me the Honour of mentioning me sometimes as a Person of respectable Character.

But towards the End of August last, returning from Brighthelmstone, I called to visit my Friend Mr. Sargent at his seat, Halsted, in Kent, agreable to a former Engagement. He let me know, that he had promised to conduct me to Lord Stanhope's at Cheven^s^, who expected I would call on him when I came into that Neighbourhood. We accordingly waited on Lord Stanhope that Evening, who told me Lord Chatham desired to see me; and that Mr. Sargent's House, where I was to lodge, being in the way, he would call for me there the next morning and carry me to Hayes. This was done accord^y^. That truly great Man receiv'd me with abundance of Civility, enquired particularly into the Situation of Affairs in America, spoke feelingly of the Severity of the late Laws against the Massachusetts, gave me some Acc^t^ of his Speech in opposing them, and express'd great Regard and Esteem for the People of that Country, who he hop'd would continue firm and united in defending by all peaceable and legal Means their constitutional Rights. I assur'd him, that I made no doubt they would do so; which he said he was pleas'd to hear from me, as he was sensible I must be well acquainted with them.

I then took Occasion to remark to him, that in former Cases great Empires had crumbled first at their Extremities,

[1] Passages enclosed in brackets are corrections made by F. in the transcript. — ED.

from this Cause, that Countries remote from the Seat and Eye of Government which therefore could not well understand their Affairs for want of full and true Information, had never been well governed but had been oppress'd by bad Governors, on Presumption that Complaint was difficult to be made and supported against them at such a Distance. Hence such gov^rs had been encouraged to go on, till their Oppressions became intolerable. But that this Empire had happily found and long been in the Practice of a Method, whereby every Province was well governed, being trusted in a great Measure with the Government of itself, and that hence had arisen such Satisfaction in the Subjects, and such encouragement to new Settlements, that had it not been for the late wrong Politicks, (which would have Parliament to be *omnipotent*, tho' it ought not to be so unless it could at the same time be *omniscient*,) we might have gone on extending our Western Empire, adding Province to Province, as far as the South Sea. That I lamented the Ruin which seemed impending over so fine a Plan, so well adapted to make all the Subjects of the greatest Empire happy; and I hoped that, if his Lordship with the other great and wise Men of this Nation would unite and exert themselves, it might yet be rescu'd out of the mangling Hands of the present Set of Blundering Ministers, and that the Union and Harmony between Britain and her Colonies, so necessary to the Welfare of both might be restored.

He replied with great Politeness, that my Idea of extending our Empire in that Manner, was a sound one, worthy of a great, benevolent and comprehensive Mind. He wish'd with me for a good Understanding among the different Parts of the Opposition here, as a Means of restoring the ancient

Harmony of the two Countries, which he most earnestly desir'd; but he spoke of the Coalition of our domestick Parties as attended with Difficulty, and rather to be desired than expected. He mention'd an Opinion prevailing here that America aim'd at setting up for itself as an *independent State;* or at least to get rid of the *Navigation Acts.* I assur'd him, that, having more than once travelled almost from one end of the Continent to the other and kept a great Variety of Company, eating, drinking, and conversing with them freely, I never had heard in any Conversation from any Person drunk or sober, the least Expression of a wish for a Separation, or Hint that such a Thing would be advantageous to America. And as to the Navigation Act, the main material Part of it, that of carrying on Trade in British or Plantation Bottoms, excluding foreign Ships from our Ports, and navigating with ¾ British Seamen, was as acceptable to us as it could be to Britain. That we were even not against Regulations of the General Commerce by Parliament provided such Reg^ns^ were *bonâ fide* for the Benefit of the *whole Empire,* not for the small Advantage of one Part to the great Injury of another, such as the obliging our Ships to call in England with our Wine and Fruit, from Portugal or Spain; the restraints on our Manufactures, in the Woollen and Hatmaking Branches, the Prohibiting of Slitting-Mills, Steelworks, &c. He allow'd, that some Amendment might be made in those Acts; but said those relating to the Slitting-Mills, trip Hammers, and Steel-Works, were agreed to by our Agents, in a Compromise on the Opposition made here to abating the Duty.

In fine, he express'd much Satisfaction in my having call'd upon him, and particularly in the Assurances I had given

him, that Am. did not aim at *Independence;* adding that he should be glad to see me again as often as might be; I said I should not fail to avail myself of the Permission he was pleas'd to give me of waiting upon his Lordship occasionally, being very sensible of the Honour, and of the great Advantages and Improvement I should reap, from his instructive Conversation; which indeed was not a meer Compliment.

The new Parliament was to meet the 29th of November, (1774.) About the Beginning of that Month, being at the Royal Society, Mr. Raper, one of our Members, told me there was a certain Lady who had a desire of playing with me at Chess, fancying she could beat me, and had requested him to bring me to her: it was, he said, a Lady with whose Acquaintance he was sure I should be pleas'd, a Sister of Lord Howe's, and he hop'd I would not refuse the Challenge. I said I had been long out of Practice, but would wait upon the Lady when he and she should think fit. He told me where her House was, and would have me call soon, and without farther Introduction, which I undertook to do; but, thinking it a little awkward, I postpon'd it; and on the 30th meeting him again at the Feast of the Society Election, being the Day after the Parliament met, he put me in Mind of my Promise, and that I had not kept it, and would have me name a Day when he said he would call for me, and conduct me. I nam'd the Friday following. He call'd accordingly. I went with him, play'd a few games with the Lady, whom I found of very sensible Conversation and pleasing Behaviour, which induc'd me to agree most readily to an Appointment for another Meeting a few Days after; tho' I had not the least Apprehension that any political Business could have any Connection with this new Acquaintance.

On the Thursday preceding this Chess Party, Mr. David Barclay call'd on me to have some Discourse concerning the Meeting of Merchants to petition Parliament. When that was over, he spoke of the dangerous Situation of American Affairs, the Hazard that a Civil War might be bro't on by the present Measures, and the great Merit that Person would have, who could contrive some Means of preventing so terrible a Calamity, and bring about a Reconciliation. He was then pleas'd to add, that he was persuaded, from my Knowledge of both Countries, my Character and Influence in one of them, and my Abilities in Business, no Man had it so much in his Power as myself. I naturally answer'd, that I should certainly be very happy if I could in any degree be instrumental in so good a Work, but that I saw no Prospect of it; For that tho' I was sure the Americans were always willing and ready to agree upon any equitable Terms, yet I thought an Accommodation impracticable, unless both sides wish'd it; and, by what I could judge from the Proceedings of the Ministry, I did not believe they had the least Disposition towards it; that they rather wish'd to provoke the North American People into an open Rebellion, which might justify a military Execution, and thereby gratify a grounded Malice, which I conceiv'd to exist here against the Whigs and Dissenters of that Country. Mr. Barclay apprehended I judg'd too hardly of the Ministers; he was persuaded they were not all of that Temper, and he fancy'd they would be very glad to get out of their present Embarrassment on any Terms, only saving the Honour and Dignity of Government. He wish'd therefore that I would think of the Matter, and he would call again and converse with me farther upon it. I said I would do so, as he requested it, but I had no Opinion

of its Answering any Purpose. We parted upon this. But two Days after I receiv'd a Letter from him, inclos'd in a Note from Dr. Fothergill, both which follow.

"Youngsbury, near Ware, 3d 12 Mo., 1774.

"Esteemed Friend,

"After we parted on Thursday last, I accidentally met our mutual Friend, Dr. Fothergill, in my way home, and intimated to him the subject of our discourse; in consequence of which, I have received from him an Invitation to a further Conference on this momentous Affair, and I intend to be in Town to-morrow accordingly, to meet at his House between four and five o'clock; and we unite in the request of thy Company. We are neither of us insensible, that the Affair is of that *Magnitude* as should almost deter private persons from meddling with it; at the same time we are respectively such Well-wishers to the Cause, that nothing in our power ought to be left undone, tho' the utmost of our Efforts may be unavailable. I am thy respectful Friend,

"DAVID BARCLAY.

"DR. FRANKLIN, *Craven Street.*"

"DR. FOTHERGILL presents his respects to Dr. Franklin, and hopes for the favour of his Company in Harper Street to-morrow Evening, to meet their mutual Friend, David Barclay, to confer on American Affairs. As near 5 o'clock as may be convenient.

"*Harper Street, 3d Inst.*"

The Time thus appointed was the Evening of the Day on which I was to have my second Chess Party with the agreable Mrs. Howe, whom I met accordingly. After Playing as long as we lik'd, we fell into a little Chat, partly on a Mathematical Problem,[1] and partly about the new Parliament then just met, when she said, "And what is to be done with this Dispute between Great Britain and the Colonies? I hope we are not to have a Civil War." "They should kiss and be Friends," says I; "what can they do better? Quarrelling can be of service to neither, but is Ruin to both." "I have often said," says she, "that I wish'd Government would employ you to settle the Dispute for 'em; I am sure

[1] This Lady (which is a little unusual in Ladies) has a good deal of mathematical Knowledge. — F.

nobody could do it so well. Don't you think that the thing is practicable?" "Undoubtedly, Madam, if the Parties are dispos'd to Reconciliation; for the two Countries have really no clashing Interests to differ about. It is rather a Matter of Punctilio, which Two or three reasonable People might settle in half an Hour. I thank you for the good Opinion you are pleas'd to express of me; But the Ministers will never think of employing me in that good Work; they chuse rather to abuse me." "Ay," says she, "they have behav'd shamefully to you. And indeed some of them are now asham'd of it themselves." I look'd upon this as accidental Conversation, thought no more of it, and went in the Evening to the appointed Meeting at Dr. Fothergill's, where I found Mr. Barclay with him.

The Doctor expatiated feelingly on the Mischiefs likely to ensue from the present Difference, the Necessity of accommodating it, and the great Merit of being instrumental in so good a Work; concluding with some Compliments to me; that nobody understood the Subject so thoroughly, and had a better Head for Business of the kind; that it seem'd therefore a Duty incumbent on me, to do every thing I could to accomplish a Reconciliation. And that, as he had with Pleasure heard from D[avid] Barclay that I had promis'd to think of it, he hop'd I had put Pen to Paper, and form'd some Plan for Consideration, and brought it with me. I answer'd, that I had form'd no Plan; as, the more I thought of the Proceedings against the Colonies, the more satisfy'd I was, that there did not exist the least Disposition in the Ministry to an Accommodation; that therefore all Plans must be useless. He said I might be mistaken; That whatever was the Violence of some, he had reason, *good reason*, to believe others were differently dispos'd; and that if I would

draw a Plan, which we three upon considering should judge reasonable, it might be made use of, and answer some good Purpose, since he believ'd that either himself or D. Barclay could get it communicated to some of the most moderate among the Ministers, who would consider it with Attention; and what appear'd reasonable to us, two of us being Englishmen might appear so to them.

As they both urg'd this with great Earnestness, and, when I mention'd the Impropriety of my doing any thing of the kind at the time we were in daily expectation of hearing from the Congress, who undoubtedly would be explicit on the Means of Restoring a good Understanding, they seem'd impatient, alledging that it was uncertain when we should receive the Result of the Congress, and what it would be; that the least Delay might be dangerous, that additional Punishments for New England were in Contemplation, and Accidents might widen the Breach, and make it irreparable; therefore, something preventive could not be too soon thought of and apply'd. I was therefore finally prevail'd with to promise Doing what they desir'd, and to meet them again on Tuesday Evening at the same Place, and bring with me something for their Consideration.

Accordingly, at the Time, I met with them, and produc'd the following Paper.

"HINTS FOR CONVERSATION *upon the Subject of Terms that might probably produce a durable Union between Britain and the Colonies.*

"1. The Tea destroy'd to be paid for.

"2. The Tea-Duty Act to be repeal'd, and all the Duties that have been receiv'd upon it to be repaid into the Treasu-

ries of the several Provinces from which they have been collected.

"3. The Acts of Navigation to be all reënacted in the Colonies.

"4. A Naval Officer, appointed by the Crown, to reside in each Colony, to see that those Acts are observed.

"5. All the Acts restraining Manufactures in the Colonies to be reconsider'd.

"6. All Duties arising on the Acts for regulating Trade with the Colonies, to be for the public Use of the respective Colonies, and paid into their Treasuries. The Collectors and Custom-house Officers to be appointed by each Governor, and not sent from England.

"7. In Consideration of the Americans maintaining their own Peace Establishment, and the Monopoly Britain is to have of their Commerce, no Requisition to be made from them in time of Peace.

"8. No Troops to enter and quarter in any Colony, but with the Consent of its Legislature.

"9. In time of War, on Requisition made by the King, with Consent of Parliament, every Colony shall raise Money by the following Rules or Proportions, viz. If Britain, on Acc^{t} of the War raises 3/ in the Pound to its land tax, then the Colonies to add to their last general Provincial Peace Tax a Sum equal to [$\frac{1}{4}$] thereof; and if Britain, on the same Account, pays 4/ in the Pound, then the Colonies to add to their said last Peace Tax a Sum equal to [$\frac{1}{2}$] thereof, which additional Tax is to be granted to his Majesty, and to be employ'd in raising and paying Men for Land or Sea Service, furnishing Provisions, Transports, or for such other Purposes as the King shall require and direct. And tho' no Colony

may contribute less, each may add as much by voluntary Grant as they shall think proper.

"10. Castle William to be restor'd to the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, and no Fortress built by the Crown in any Province, but with the Consent of its Legislature.

"11. The late Massachusetts and Quebec Acts to be repeal'd, and a free Government granted to Canada.

"12. All Judges to be appointed during good Behaviour, with equally permanent Salaries, to be paid out of the Province Revenues by Appointment of the Assemblies. Or, if the Judges are to be appointed during the Pleasure of the Crown, let the Salaries be during the Pleasure of the Assemblies, as heretofore.

"13. Governors to be supported by the Assemblies of each Province.

"14. If Britain will give up its Monopoly of the American Commerce, then the Aid above mentioned to be given by America in time of Peace as well as in time of War.

"15. The Extension of the Act of Henry the Eighth, concerning Treasons to the Colonies, to be formally disown'd by Parliament.

"16. The American Admiralty Courts reduc'd to the same Powers they have in England, and the Acts establishing them to be reënacted in America.

"17. All Powers of Internal Legislation in the Colonies to be disclaim'd by Parliament."

In reading this Paper a second time, I gave my Reasons at length for each Article.

On the *first* I observ'd, that, when the Injury was done, Britain had a Right to *Reparation*, and would certainly have

had it on Demand, as was the Case when Injury was done by Mobs in the time of the Stamp Act; or she might have a Right to return an equal Injury if she rather chose to do that; but she could not have a Right *both* to *Reparation* and to return an *equal Injury;* much less had she a Right to return the *Injury* ten or twenty fold, as she had done by blocking up the Port of Boston. All which extra Injury ought in my judgm[t], to be repaired by Britain. That therefore if paying for the Tea was agreed to by me, as an Article fit to be propos'd, it was merely from a Desire of Peace, and in Compliance with their Opinion express'd at our first Meeting, that this was a *sine quâ non*, that the Dignity of Britain requir'd it, and that if this was agreed to, every thing else would be easy. This Reasoning was allow'd to be just; but still the Article was thought necessary to stand as it did.

On the 2d, That the Act should be repeal'd, as having never answer'd any good Purpose, as having been the Cause of the present Mischief, and never likely to be executed. That the Act being considered as unconstitutional by the Americans, and what the Parliament had no Right to make, they must consider all the Money *extorted* by it, as so much wrongfully taken, and of which therefore Restitution ought to be made; and the rather as it would furnish a Fund out of which the Payment for the Tea destroy'd might best be defrayed. The Gentlemen were of Opinion, that the first Part of this Article, viz. the Repeal, might be obtain'd, but not the refunding Part, and therefore advis'd striking that out: But as I thought it just and right, I insisted on its standing.

On the 3d and 4th Articles I observ'd, we were frequently charg'd with Views of abolishing the Navigation Act. That in truth, those Parts of it which were of most Importance to

Britain, as tending to increase its naval Strength, viz. those restraining the Trade, to be carried on only in Ships belonging to British Subjects, navigated by at least ¾ British or Colony Seamen, &c., were as acceptable to us as they could be to Britain, since we wish'd to employ our own Ships in preference to Foreigners, and had no Desire to see foreign Ships enter our Ports. That indeed the obliging us to land some of our Commodities in England before we could carry them to foreign Markets, and forbidding our Importation of some Goods directly from foreign Countries, we thought a Hardship, and a greater Loss to us than Gain to Britain, and therefore proper to be repeal'd: But as Britain had deem'd it an equivalent for her Protection, we had never apply'd, or propos'd to apply for such Repeal. And if they must be continu'd, I thought it best (since the Power of Parliament to make them was now disputed), that they should be reenacted in all the Colonies, which would demonstrate their Consent to them. And then, if, as in the 6th Article, all the Duties arising on them were to be collected by Officers appointed and salaried in the respective Governments, and the Produce paid into their Treasuries, I was sure the Acts would be better and more faithfully executed, and at much less Expence, and one great Source of Misunderstanding removed between the two Countries, viz. the Calumnies of low Officers appointed from home, who were for ever abusing the People of the Country to Government, to magnify their own Zeal, and recommend themselves to Promotion. That the Extension of the Admiralty Jurisdiction, so much complain'd of would then no longer be necessary. And that besides its being the Interest of the Colonies to execute those Acts, which is the best Security, Government might be satis-

fy'd of its being done, from Accounts to be sent home by the Naval Officers of the 4th Article. The Gentlemen were satisfy'd with these Reasons, and approv'd the 3d and 4th Articles; so they were to stand.

The 5th they apprehended would meet with Difficulty. They said, that restraining Manufactures in the Colonies was a favorite Idea here; and therefore they wish'd that Article to be omitted, as the proposing it would alarm, and hinder perhaps the considering and granting others of more Importance: But as I insisted on the Equity of allowing all Subjects in every Country to make the most of their natural Advantages, they desired I would at least alter the last Word from *repealed* to *reconsidered*, which I comply'd with.

In maintaining the 7th Article (which was at first objected to, on the Principle that all under the Care of Government should pay towards the Support of it,) my Reasons were, that if every distinct Part of the King's Dominions supported its own Government in time of Peace, it was all that could justly be required of it; that all the old or confederated Colonies had done so from their beginning; that their Taxes for that Purpose were very considerable; that new Countries had many public Expences, which old ones were free from, the Works being done to their Hands by their Ancestors, such as making Roads and Bridges, erecting Churches, Court-houses, Forts, Quays, and other Publick Buildings, founding Schools and Places of Education, Hospitals and Alms-houses, &c. &c.; that the voluntary and the legal Subscriptions and Taxes for such Purposes, taken together amounted to more than was paid by equal Estates in Britain. That it would be best for Britain, on two Accounts, not to take Money from us as Contribution to its public Expence, in time of Peace,

first, for that just so much less would be got from us in Commerce, since all we could spare was already gain'd from us by Britain in that Way; and secondly that, coming into the Hands of British Ministers, accustomed to Prodigality of Publick Money, it would be squandered and dissipated, answering no good general Purpose. That if we were to be taxed towards the Support of Government in Britain, as Scotland has been since the Union, we ought then to be allow'd the same Privileges in Trade as she has been allow'd. That if we are call'd upon to give to the Sinking Fund, or for lessening the National Debt, Ireland ought to be likewise called upon; and both they and we, if we gave, ought to have some Means established of enquiring into the Application and securing a Compliance with the Terms on which we should grant. That British Ministers would perhaps not like our meddling with such Matters; and that hence might arise new Causes of Misunderstanding. That upon the whole therefore I thought it best on all Sides, that no Aids shall be asked or expected from the Colonies in Time of Peace; that it would then be their interest to grant bountifully and exert themselves vigorously in time of War, the sooner to put an End to it. That Specie was not to be had to send to England in Supplies, but the Colonies could carry on War with their own Paper Money, which would pay Troops, and for Provisions, Transports, Carriages, Clothing, Arms, &c. So this 7th Article was at length agreed to without farther Objection.

The 8th the Gentlemen were confident would never be granted. For the whole World would be of Opinion, that the King who is to defend all Parts of his Dominions, should have of course a Right to place his Troops where they might

best answer that purpose. I supported the Article upon Principles equally important in my Opinion to Britain as to the Colonies: For that if the King could bring into one part of his Dominions Troops rais'd in any other Part of them, without the Consent of the Legislature of the Part to which they were brought, he might bring Armies rais'd in America into England without Consent of Parliament, which probably would not like it, as a few Years since they had not liked the Introduction of the Hessians and Hanoverians, tho' justified by the Supposition of its being a Time of Danger. That if there should be at any time real Occasion for British Troops in America, there was no doubt of obtaining the Consent of the Assemblies there; and I was so far from being willing to drop this Article, that I thought I ought to add another, requiring all the present Troops to be withdrawn, before America could be expected to treat or agree upon any Terms of Accommodation; as what they should now do of that kind might be deem'd the Effect of Compulsion, the Appearance of which ought as much as possible to be avoided, since those reasonable things might be agreed to where the Parties seem'd at least to act freely, which would be strongly refus'd under Threats or the semblance of Force. That the withdrawing the Troops was therefore necessary to make any Treaty or Agreement durably binding on the Part of the Americans, since Proof of having acted under Force would invalidate any Agreement. And it could be no Wonder that we should insist on the Crown's having no Right to bring a standing Army among us in time of Peace, when we saw now before our Eyes a striking Instance of the Ill Use to be made of it, viz. to distress the King's Subjects in different Parts of his Dominions, one Part after the other, into a Sub-

mission to arbitrary Power, which was the avowed Design of the Army and Fleet now plac'd at Boston. Finding me obstinate, the Gentlemen consented to let this stand, but did not seem quite to approve of it. They wish'd they said to have this Paper or Plan that they might show, as containing the Sentiments of considerate, Impartial Persons, and such as they might as Englishmen support, which they thought could not well be the case with this Article.

The 9th Article was so drawn in Compliance with an Idea of Dr. Fothergill's started at our first Meeting, viz. that Government here would probably not be satisfied with the Promise of voluntary Grants in time of War from the Assemblies, of which the Quantity must be uncertain; that, therefore, it would be best to proportion them in some Way to the Shillings in the Pound rais'd in England; but how such Proportion could be ascertained he was at a loss to contrive. I was desired to consider it. It had been said, too, that Parliament was become jealous of the Right claimed and heretofore used by the Crown, of raising Money in the Colonies without Parliamentary Consent; and, therefore, since we would not pay Parliamentary Taxes, future Requisitions must be made with Consent of Parliament, and not otherwise. I wondered that the Crown should be willing to give up that separate Right, but had no Objection to its limiting itself, if it thought proper: so I drew the Article accordingly, and contrived to proportion the Aid by the Tax of the last Year of Peace. And since it was thought that the Method I should have liked best, would never be agreed to, viz. a Continental Congress to be call'd by the Crown, for answering Requisitions and proportioning Aids; I chose to leave Room for voluntary Additions by the separate Assemblies, that the

Crown might have some Motive for calling them together, and Cultivating their Good Will, and they have some Satisfaction in showing their Loyalty and their Zeal in the common Cause, and an Opportunity of manifesting their Disapprobation of a War, if they did not think it a just one. This article therefore met with no Objection *from them;* and I had another Reason for liking it, viz. that the View of the Proportion to be given in time of War, might make us the more frugal in time of Peace.

For the 10th Article, I urg'd the Injustice of seizing that Fortress, (which had been built at an immense Charge by the Province, for the Defence of their Port against national Enemies,) and turning it into a Citadel for awing the Town, restraining their Trade, blocking up their Port, and depriving them of their Privileges. That a great deal had been said of their Injustice in destroying the Tea; but here was a much greater Injustice uncompensated, that Castle having cost the Province 300,000£. And that such a Use made of a Fortress they had built, would not only effectually discourage every Colony from ever building another, and thereby leave them more expos'd to foreign Enemies, but was a good Reason for their insisting that the Crown should never erect any hereafter in their Limits without the Consent of the Legislature. The Gentlemen had not much to say against this Article, but thought it would hardly be admitted.

The 11th Article it was thought would be strongly objected to; that it would be urged the old Colonists could have nothing to do with the Affairs of Canada, whatever we had with those of the Massachusetts; that it would be considered as an officious Meddling merely to disturb Government; and that some even of the Massachusetts acts were tho't by

Administration to be Improvements of that Government, viz. those altering the Appointment of Counsellors, the Choice of Jurymen, and the Forbidding of Town Meetings. I reply'd, that we having assisted in the Conquest of Canada, at a great Expence of Blood and Treasure, had some Right to be considered in the Settlement of it. That the Establishing an arbitrary Government on the back of our Settlements might be dangerous to us all; and that loving Liberty ourselves, we wish'd it to be extended among Mankind, and to have no Foundation for future Slavery laid in America. That as to Amending the Massachusetts Government, tho' it might be shown that every one of these pretended Amendments were real Mischiefs, yet that Charters being Compacts between two Parties, the King and the People, no Alteration could be made in them, even for the better, but by the Consent of both Parties. That the Parliament's Claim and Exercise of a Power to alter our Charters, which had always been deem'd irrevocable[1] but for Forfeiture, and to alter Laws made in pursuance of those Charters, which had received the Royal Approbation, and thenceforth deemed fix'd and unchangeable but by the Powers that made them, had render'd all our Constitutions uncertain, and set us quite afloat. That as by claiming a Right to tax us *ad libitum*, they depriv'd us of all Property; so, by this Claim of altering our Laws and Charters at will, they depriv'd us of all Privilege and Right whatever, but what we should hold at their Pleasure. That this was a Situation we could not be in, and must risque Life and every thing rather than submit to it. So this Article remained.

The 12th article I explain'd, by acquainting the Gentlemen

[1] "inviolable" in Transcript, altered by F. to "irrevocable." — ED.

with the former Situation of the Judges in most Colonies, viz. that they were appointed by the Crown, and paid by the Assemblies. That the Appointment being during the Pleasure of the Crown, the Salary had been during the pleasure of the Assembly. That when it has been urg'd against the Assemblies, that their making Judges dependent on them for their Salaries, was aiming at an undue Influence over the Courts of Justice; the Assemblies usually reply'd, that making them dependent on the Crown for Continuance in their Places, was also retaining an Undue Influence over those Courts; and that one undue Influence was a proper Balance for the other; but that whenever the Crown would consent to Acts making the Judges during *good Behaviour*, the Assemblies would at the same time grant their Salaries to be permanent during their Continuance in Office. This the Crown has however constantly refused. And this equitable Offer is now again here proposed; the Colonies not being able to conceive why their Judges should not be render'd as independent as those in England. That on the contrary the Crown now claim'd to make the Judges in the Colonies dependent on its Favour for both Place and Salary, both to be continu'd at its Pleasure. This the Colonies must oppose as inequitable, as putting both the Weights into one of the Scales of Justice. If therefore the Crown does not chuse to commission the Judges during good Behaviour, with equally permanent Salaries, the Alternative is propos'd that the Salaries continue to be paid during the Pleasure of the Assemblies as heretofore. The Gentlemen allow'd this Article to be reasonable.

The 13th was objected to, as nothing was generally tho't more reasonable here, than that the King should pay his own Governor, in order to render him independent of the People,

who otherwise might aim at influencing him against his Duty, by occasionally withholding his Salary. To this I answer'd, that Governors sent to the Colonies were often Men of no Estate or Principle, who came merely to make Fortunes, and had no natural Regard for the Country they were to govern. That to make them quite independ[t] of the People, was to make them careless of their Conduct whether it was beneficial or mischievous to the Publick, and giving a Loose to their Rapacious and oppressive Dispositions. That the Influence supposed could never extend to operate any thing prejudicial to the King's Service, or the Interest of Britain; since the Governor was bound by a Set of particular Instructions, which he had given Surety to observe; and all the Laws he assented to were subject to be repeal'd by the Crown, if found improper. That the Payment of the Salaries by the People was more satisfactory to them, as it was productive of a good Understanding and mutual good Offices between Governor and Governed, and therefore the Innovation lately made in that respect at Boston and New York had in my Opinion better be laid aside. So this Article was suffered to remain.

But the 14th was thought totally inadmissible. The Monopoly of the American Commerce could never be given up, and the Proposing it would only give Offence without answering any good Purpose. I was therefore prevailed on to strike it wholly out.

The 15th was readily agreed to.

The 16th it was thought would be of little consequence, if the Duties were given to the Colony Treasuries.

The 17th it was thought could hardly be obtain'd, but might be try'd.

Thus having gone thro' the whole, I was desired to make a fair Copy for Dr. Fothergill, who now inform'd us, that having an Opportunity of seeing daily Lord Dartmouth, of whose good Disposition he had a high Opinion, he would communicate the Paper to him, as the Sentiments of considerate Persons, who wish'd the welfare of both Countries. "Suppose," says Mr. B[arclay], "I were to show this Paper to Lord Hyde; would there be any thing amiss in so doing? He is a very knowing Man, and tho' not in the Ministry properly speaking, he is a good deal attended to by them. I have some Acquaintance with him; we converse freely sometimes; and perhaps, if he and I were to talk these Articles over, and I should communicate to him our Conversation upon them, some good might arise out of it." Dr. Fothergil had no objection; and I said I could have none. I knew Lord Hyde a little, and had an Esteem for him. I had drawn the Paper at their Request, and it was now theirs to do with it what they pleas'd. Mr. B. then propos'd that I should send the fair Copy to him, which after making one for Dr. F. and one for himself, he would return me. Another Question then arose, whether I had any Objection to their mentioning that I had been consulted. I said, none that related to myself; but it was my Opinion, if they wish'd any Attention paid to the Propositions, it would be better not to mention me; the Ministry having, as I conceiv'd, a Prejudice against me, and every thing that came from me. They said, on that Consideration it might be best not to mention me, and so it was concluded. For my own part, I kept this whole Proceeding a dead Secret. But I soon after found, that it had taken Air by some means or other.

Being much interrupted the Day following, I did not copy

and send the Paper. The next Morning[1] I receiv'd a Note from Mr. B, pressing to have it before 12 o'Clock. I accordingly sent it to him. Three Days[2] after, I received the following Note from him.

"D. BARCLAY presents his respects, and acquaints Dr. Franklin, that, being inform'd a pamphlet, entituled A FRIENDLY ADDRESS, has been dispersed to the disadvantage of America, (in particular by the Dean of Norwich) he desires Dr. F. will peruse the inclosed, just come to hand from America; and if he approves of it republish it, as D. B. wishes something might be properly spread at Norwich. D. B. saw to-Day a Person, with whom he had been yesterday (before he call'd on Dr. F.), and had the satisfaction of walking part of the Way with him to another Noble Person's house, to meet on the Business, and he told him, that he could say, that he saw some *light*.

"*Cheapside*, 11*th Inst.*"

The Person so met and accompany'd by Mr. B, I understood to be Lord Hyde, going either to Lord Dartmouth's or Lord North's; I knew not which.

In the Week following arriv'd the Proceedings of the Congress, which had been long and anxiously expected, both by the Friends and Adversaries of America.

[The Petition of Congress to the King was inclosed to me, and accompanied by the following Letter from their President, address'd to the American Agents in London, as follows.

"To PAUL WENTWORTH, Esquire,
DR. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,
WILLIAM BOLLAN, Esquire,
DR. ARTHUR LEE,
THOMAS LIFE, Esquire,
EDMUND BURKE, Esquire,
CHARLES GARTH, Esquire.

"Philadelphia, October 26th, 1774.

"GENTLEMEN,

"We give you the strongest proof of our reliance on your zeal and attachment to the happiness of America, and the cause of liberty, when we commit the enclosed papers to your care.

[1] December 8th. — ED. [2] December 11th. — ED.

"We desire you will deliver the Petition into the hands of his Majesty; and, after it has been presented, we wish it may be made public through the press, together with the list of grievances. And as we hope for great assistance from the spirit, virtue, and justice of the nation, it is our earnest desire, that the most effectual care be taken, as early as possible, to furnish the trading cities and manufacturing towns throughout the united kingdom with our Memorial to the People of Great Britain.

"We doubt not but that your good sense and discernment will lead you to avail yourselves of every assistance, that may be derived from the advice and friendship of all great and good men, who may incline to aid the cause of liberty and mankind.

"The gratitude of America, expressed in the enclosed vote of thanks, we desire may be conveyed to the deserving objects of it, in the manner that you think will be most acceptable to them.[1]

"It is proposed that another Congress be held on the 10th of May next, at this place; but in the mean time we beg the favour of you, Gentlemen, to transmit to the Speakers of the several Assemblies, the earliest information of the most authentic accounts you can collect, of all such conduct and designs of ministry or Parliament, as it may concern America to know. We are, with unfeigned esteem and regard, Gentlemen, &c.

"By order of the Congress.

"HENRY MIDDLETON, *President.*"]

The first Impression made by them [the proceedings of the American Congress][2] on People in general was greatly in our favour. Administration seem'd to be stagger'd, were impatient to know whether the *Petition* mention'd in the Proceedings was come to my Hands, and took a roundabout Method of obtaining that Information, by getting a ministerial Merchant a known Intimate of the Soll[r] Gen[l], to write me a Letter importing that he heard I had receiv'd such a Petition, that I was to be attended in presenting it by the

[1] This vote of thanks was as follows: "*October 25th*, 1774. Resolved, That this Congress, in their own names, and in the behalf of all those whom they represent, do present their most grateful acknowledgments to those truly noble, honourable, and patriotic advocates of civil and religious liberty, who have so generously and powerfully, though unsuccessfully, espoused and defended the cause of America, both in and out of Parliament." — S.

[2] The passages in brackets are found only in the Trans. — ED.

Merchants, and begging to know the Time, that he might attend "on so important an Occasion, and give his Testimony to so good a Work." Before these Proceedings arriv'd, it had been given out that no Petition from the Congress could be receiv'd, as they were an illegal Body: But the Secretary of State, after a Day's Perusal (during which a Council was held), told us it was a decent and proper Petition, and chearfully undertook to present it to his Majesty, who, he afterwards assur'd us, was pleas'd to receive it very graciously, and to promise to lay it, as soon as they met, before his two Houses of Parliament; and we had reason to believe that at that time, the Petition was intended to be made the Foundation of some Change of Measures; but that purpose, if such there were, did not long continue.

About this time, I receiv'd a Letter from Mr. Barclay, then at Norwich, dated Dec 18, expressing his Opinion, that it might be best to postpone taking any further Steps in the Affair of procuring a Meeting and Petition of the Merchants, (on which we had had several Consultations,) till after the Holidays, thereby to give the Proceedings of Congress more time to work upon Men's Minds; adding, "I likewise consider, that our Superiors will have some little time for Reflection, and perhaps may contemplate on the Propriety of the 'HINTS' in their Possession. By a few Lines I have received from Lord H., he intimates his hearty Wish that they may be productive of what may be practicable and advantageous for the Mother Country and the Colonies."

On the 22d, Mr. B. was come to town, when I din'd with him, and learnt that Lord H. tho't the Propositions too hard.

On the 24th, I receiv'd the following Note from a considerable Merchant in the City, viz.

"MR. WILLIAM NEATE presents his most respectfull Compliments to Dr. Franklin, and as a report prevailed yesterday Evening, that all the disputes between Great Britain and the American Colonies were thro' his application and influence with Lord North amicably settled, conformable to the wish and desire of the late Congress, W. N. desires the favour of Dr. Franklin to inform him by a line per the bearer, whether there is any credit to be given to the report.

"*St. Mary Hill, 24th Decem^r*, 1774."

My Answer was to this Effect, that I should be very happy to be able to inform him that the Report he had heard had some Truth in it; but I could only assure him, that I knew nothing of the Matter. Such Reports however were confidently circulated, and had some Effect in recovering the Stocks, which had fallen 3 or 4 per Cent.

On Christmas-Day Evening, visiting Mrs. Howe, she told me as soon as I came in, that her Brother, Lord Howe, wish'd to be acquainted with me; that he was a very good Man, and she was sure we should like each other. I said I had always heard a good Character of Lord Howe, and should be proud of the Honour of being known to him. "He is but just by," says she; "will you give me Leave to send for him?" "By all means, Madam, if you think proper." She rang for a Servant, wrote a Note, and Lord H. came in a few Minutes.

After some extreamly polite Compliments, as to the general Motives for his desiring an Acquaintance with me, he said he had a particular one at this time, viz. the alarming Situation of our Affairs with America, which no one, he was persuaded understood better than myself; that it was the Opinion of some Friends of his, that no Man could do more towards reconciling our Differences than I could, if I would undertake it; that he was sensible I had been very ill treated by the Ministry, but he hop'd that would not be consider'd

by me in the present case: that he himself, tho' not in Opposition, had much disapproved of their Conduct towards me; that some of them he was sure were asham'd of it, and sorry it had happen'd; which he suppos'd must be sufficient to abate Resentment in a great and generous Mind; that if he were himself in Administration, he should be ready to make me ample Satisfaction, which he was persuaded would one day or other be done; that he was unconnected with the Ministry, except by some personal Friendships, wish'd well however to Governm[t], was anxious for the general Welfare of the whole Empire, and had a particular Regard for New England, which had shewn a very endearing Respect to his Family; That he was merely an independent Member of Parliament, desirous of doing what Good he could, agreeable to his Duty in that Station; that he therefore had wish'd for an Opportunity of obtaining my Sentiments on the Means of reconciling our Differences, which he saw must be attended with the most mischievous Consequences, if not speedily accommodated; that he hop'd his Zeal for the public Welfare would with me excuse the Impertinence of a mere Stranger, who could have otherwise no reason to expect, or right to request, me to open my Mind to him on these Topics; but he did conceive that if I would indulge him with my Ideas of the Means proper to bring about a Reconciliation, it might be of some Use; that perhaps I might not be willing myself to have any *direct* Communication with this Ministry on this Occasion; that I might likewise not care to have it known, that I had any *indirect* Communication with them, till I could be well assur'd of their good Dispositions; that, being himself upon no ill Terms with them, he thought it not impossible that he might by conveying my Sentiments to them

and theirs to me, be a Means of bringing on a good Understanding, without committing either them or me, if his Negociation should not succeed. And that I might rely on his keeping perfectly secret every thing I should wish to remain so.

Mrs. Howe here offering to withdraw, whether of herself, or from any sign from him, I know not, I begg'd she might stay, as I should have no Secrets in a Business of this Nature that I could not freely confide to her Prudence. Which was Truth; for I had never conceiv'd a higher Opinion of the Discretion and excellent Understanding of any Woman on so short an Acquaintance. I added that tho' I had never before the Honour of being in his Lordship's Company, his Manner was such as had already engag'd my Confidence, and would make me perfectly easy and free in communicating myself to him.

I begg'd him, in the first Place, to give me Credit for a sincere Desire of healing the Breach between the two Countries; that I would chearfully and heartily do every thing in my small Power to accomplish it; but that I apprehended from the King's Speech, and from the Measures talk'd of, as well as those already determin'd on, no Intention or Disposition of the kind existed in the present Ministry, and therefore no Accommodation could be expected till we saw a Change. That as to what his Lordship mentioned of the personal Injuries done me, those done my Country were so much greater, that I did not think the other, at this time, worth mentioning; that, besides it was a fix'd Rule with me, not to mix my private Affairs with those of the publick; that I could join with my personal Enemy in serving the public, or, when it was for its Interest, with the Publick in serving that Enemy. These being my Sentiments, his Lordship

might be assur'd that no private Considerations of the kind should prevent my being as useful in the present Case as my small Ability would permit.

He appear'd satisfy'd and pleased with these Declarations, and gave it me as his sincere Opinion, that some of the Min^ry were extreamly well dispos'd to any reasonable Accommodation, preserving only the Dignity of Governm^t; he wish'd me to draw up in Writing some Propositions containing the Terms on which I conceived a good Understanding might be obtained and established, and the Mode of Proceeding to accomplish it; which Propositions, as soon as prepared, we might meet to consider, either at his House, or at mine, or where I pleas'd; but, as his being seen at my House, or me at his, might, he thought, occasion some Speculation, it was concluded to be best to meet at his Sister's, who readily offered her House for the purpose, and where there was a good Pretence with her Family and Friends for my being often seen, as it was known we play'd together at Chess. I undertook accordingly to draw up something of the kind, and so for that time we parted, agreeing to meet at the same place again on the Wednesday following.

I din'd about this time by Invitation with Governor Pownall. There was no Company but the Family; and after Dinner we had a *tête-à-tête*. He had been in the Opposition; but was now about making his Peace, in order to come into Parliament upon ministerial Interest, which I did not then know. He told me what I had before been told by several of Lord North's Friends, that the American Measures were not the Measures of that Minister, nor approved by him; that on the contrary, he was well dispos'd to promote a Reconciliation upon any Terms honourable to Government; that

I had been look'd upon as the great Fomenter of the Opposition in America, and as great an Adversary to any Accommodation; that he, Govr P. had given a different Account of me, and had told his Lord^p that I was certainly much misunderstood: From the Gov^rs farther Discourse I collected that he wish'd to be employ'd as an Envoy or Commissioner to America, to settle the Differences, and to have me with him; but as I apprehended there was little Likelihood that either of us should be so employ'd by Government, I did not give much Attention to that Part of his Discourse.

I should have mention'd in its place (but one cannot recollect every thing in order) that declining at first to draw up the Propositions desired by Lord Howe, I alledg'd its being unnecessary, since the Congress in their Petition to the King, just then receiv'd and presented thro' Lord Dartmouth, had stated their Grievances, and pointed out very explicitly what would restore the ancient Harmony; and I read a Part of the Petition to show their good Dispositions, which, being very pathetically express'd, seem'd to affect both the Brother and Sister. But still I was desired to give my Ideas of the Steps to be taken, in case some of the Propositions in the Petition should not be thought admissible. And this, as I said before, I undertook to do.

I had promised Lord Chatham to communicate to him the first important News I should receive from America. I therefore sent him the Proceedings of the Congress as soon as I receiv'd them. But a whole Week pass'd after I receiv'd the Petition, before I could, as I wish'd to do, wait upon him with it, in order to obtain his Sentiments on the *whole;* for my time was taken up in Meetings with the other Agents to consult about presenting the Petition, in waiting three dif-

ferent Days with them on Lord Dartmouth, in consulting upon and writing Letters to the Speakers of Assemblies, and other Business, wch did not allow me a Day to go to Hayes.

At last on Monday the 26th, I got out, and was there about One o'Clock. He receiv'd me with an affectionate kind of Respect, that from so great a Man was extreamly engaging; but the Opinion he express'd of the Congress was still more so. They had acted, he said, with so much Temper, Moderation and Wisdom, that he thought it the most honourable Assembly of Statesmen since those of the ancient Greeks and Romans, in the most virtuous Times. That there were not in their whole Proceedings above one or two things he could have wish'd otherwise; perhaps but one, and that was, their Assertion, that the keeping up a standing Army in the Colonies in time of Peace without Consent of their Legislatures was against Law; he doubted that was not well founded, and that the Law alluded to did not extend to the Colonies: The rest he admired and honoured. He thought the Petition decent, manly, and properly express'd. He enquired much and particularly concerning the State of America, the Probability of their Perseverance, the Difficultys they must meet with in Adhering for any long time to their Resolutions, the Resources they might have to supply the Deficiency of Commerce; to all which I gave him Answers with which he seemed well satisfy'd. He express'd a great Regard and warm Affection for that Country, with hearty Wishes for their Prosperity; and that Government here might soon come to see its Mistakes, and rectify them; and intimated that possibly he might, if his Health permitted, prepare something for its Consideration, when the Parliament should meet after the Holidays, on which he should wish to have previously my Sentiments.

I mentioned to him the very hazardous State I conceiv'd we were in, by the Continuance of the Army in Boston; that whatever Disposition there might be in the Inhabitants to give no just Cause of Offence to the Troops, or in the General to preserve Order among them, an unpremeditated unforeseen Quarrel might happen between perhaps a drunken Porter and a Soldier, that might bring on a Riot, Tumult, and Bloodshed, and in its Consequences produce a Breach impossible to be healed: that the Army could not possibly answer any good purpose there; and might be infinitely mischievous: that no Accommodation could properly be propos'd and entred into by the Americans while the Bayonet was at their Breasts: that to have any Agreement binding all Force should be withdrawn. His Lordship seem'd to think these Sentiments had something in them that was reasonable.

From Hayes I went to Halsted, Mr. Sargent's [place,] to dine, intending thence a Visit to Lord Stanhope at Chevening; but, hearing there that his Lordship and the Family were in town, I staid at Halsted all Night, and the next Morning went to Chislehurst to call upon Lord Camden, it being in my way to town. I met his Lordship and Family in two Carriages just without his Gate going on a Visit of Congratulation to Lord Chatham and his Lady, on the late Marriage of their Daughter to Lord Mahon, Son of Lord Stanhope. They were to be back at Dinner. So I agreed to go in, stay Dinner, and spend the Evening there, and not return to Town till next Morning. We had that Afternoon and Evening a great deal of Conversation on American Affairs, concerning which he was very inquisitive, and I gave him the best Information in my Power. I was charm'd with his generous and noble Sentiments; and had the great Pleasure of hearing his

full Approbation of the Proceedings of the Congress, the Petition, &c. &c., of which, at his Request, I afterwards sent him a Copy. He seem'd anxious that the Americans should continue to act with the same Temper, Coolness, and Wisdom, with which they had hitherto proceeded in most of their publick Assemblies, in which case he did not doubt they would succeed in establishing their Rights, and obtain a solid and durable Agreement with the Mother Country; of the Necessity and great Importance of which Agreement, he seemed to have the strongest Impressions.

I return'd to town the next Morning, in time to meet, at the Hour appointed, Lord Howe. I apologiz'd for my not being ready with the Paper I had promis'd, by my having been kept longer than I intended in the Country. We had however a good deal of Conversation on the Subject, and his L^p^ told me he could now assure me of a Certainty that there was a sincere Disposition in Lord North and Lord Dartmouth to accommodate the Differences with America, and to listen favourably to any Propositions that might have a probable tendency to answer that salutary Purpose. He then ask'd me what I thought of sending some Person or Persons over, commission'd to enquire into the Grievances of America upon the Spot, converse with the leading People, and endeavour with them to agree upon some Means of composing our Differences? I said that a Person of Rank and Dignity, who had a Character of Candour, Integrity and Wisdom, might possibly, if employed in that Service be of great Use.

He seem'd to be of the same Opinion, and that whoever was employ'd should go with a hearty Desire of promoting a sincere Reconciliation, on the Foundation of mutual Interests and mutual Good-Will; that he should endeavour not only

to remove their Prejudices against Government, but equally the Prejudices of Gov^{t} against them, and bring on a perfect good Understanding, &c. Mrs. Howe said, "I wish Brother you were to be sent thither on such a Service; I should like that much better than General Howe's going to command the Army there." "I think, Madam," says I, "they ought to provide for General Howe some more honourable Employment." Lord Howe here took out of his Pocket a Paper, and offering it to me said, smiling, "If it is not an unfair Question, may I ask whether you know any thing of this Paper?" Upon looking at it, I saw it was a Copy in D. Barclay's Hand, of the "HINTS" before recited: and said, that I had seen it; adding a little after, that, since I perceived his Lordship was acquainted with a Transaction my Concern in which I had understood was to have been kept a Secret, I should make no Difficulty in owning to him, that I had been consulted on the Subject, and had drawn up that Paper. He said he was rather sorry to find that the Sentiments express'd in it were mine, as it gave him less hopes of promoting by my Assistance, the wished-for Reconciliation, since he had reason to think there was no likelyhood of the Admission of those Propositions. He hop'd however that I would reconsider the Subject, and form some Plan that would be acceptable here. He expatiated on the infinite Service it would be to the nation, and the great Merit in being instrumental in so good a Work; that he should not think of influencing me by any selfish Motive, but certainly I might with reason expect any Reward in the Power of Government to bestow.

This to me was what the French call *Spitting in the Soup.* However, I promis'd to draw some Sketch of a Plan, at his

Request, tho' I much doubted, I said, whether it would be thought preferable to that he had in his Hand. But he was willing to hope that it would; and, as he consider'd my Situation, that I had Friends here and Constituents in America to keep well with, that I might possibly propose something improper to be seen in my Handwriting; therefore it would be best to send it to Mrs. Howe, who would copy it, send the Copy to him to be communicated to the Ministry, and return me the original. This I agreed to, tho' I did not apprehend the Inconvenience he mention'd. In general I lik'd much his Manner, and found myself dispos'd to place great Confidence in him on Occasion; but in this particular the Secrecy he proposed seem'd not of much Importance.

In a Day or two, I sent the following Paper, inclos'd in a Cover, directed to the honourable Mrs. Howe.

"It is suppos'd to be the Wish on both sides, not merely to put a Stop to the Mischief at present threatning the general Welfare, but to cement a *cordial Union*, and remove, not only every real Grievance, but every Cause of Jealousy and Suspicion.

"With this View, the first thing necessary is, to know what is, by the different Parties in the Dispute, thought essentially necessary for the obtaining such an Union.

"The American Congress, in their Petition to the King, have been explicit, declaring, that by a Repeal of the oppressive Acts therein complain'd of, '*the Harmony between Great Britain and the Colonies, so necessary to the Happiness of both, and so ardently desired by them, will, with the usual Intercourse, be immediately restor'd.*'

"If it has been thought reasonable here, to expect that,

previous to an Alteration of Measures, the Colonies should make some Declaration respecting their future Conduct, they have also done that, by adding, '*That, when the Causes of their Apprehensions are removed, their future Conduct will prove them not unworthy of the Regard they have been accustomed in their happier Days to enjoy.*'

"For their Sincerity in these Declarations, they solemnly call to Witness the Searcher of all Hearts.

"If Britain can have any Reliance on these Declarations, (and perhaps none to be extorted by Force can be more rely'd on than these which are thus freely made,) she may, without Hazard to herself, try the Expedient propos'd, since, if it fails, she has it in her power at any time to resume her present Measures.

"It is then proposed; That Britain should show some Confidence in these Declarations, by repealing all the Laws or Parts of Laws, that are requested to be repeal'd in the Petition of the Congress to the King;

"And that at the same time Orders should be given to withdraw the Fleet from Boston, and remove all the Troops to Quebec, or the Floridas, that the Colonies may be left at perfect Liberty in their future Stipulations.

"That this may, for the Honour of Britain, appear not the Effect of any Apprehension from the Measures entred into and recommended to the People by the Congress, but from Good-Will, and a Change of Disposition towards the Colonies, with a sincere Desire of Reconciliation, let some of their other Grievances, which in their Petition they have left to the Magnanimity and Justice of the King and Parliament, be at the same time removed, such as those relating to the Payment of Governors' and Judges' Salaries, and the In-

structions for Dissolving Assemblies, &c., with the Declarations concerning the Statute of Hen. VIII.

"And to give the Colonies an immediate Opportunity of demonstrating the Reality of their Professions, let their propos'd ensuing Congress be authoriz'd by Government, (as was that held at Albany in 1754,) and a Person of Weight and Dignity of Character be appointed to preside at it on Behalf of the Crown.

"And then let Requisition be made to the Congress, of such Points as Government wishes to obtain, for its future Security, for Aids, for the Advantage of general Commerce, for Reparation to the India Company, &c. &c.

"A generous Confidence thus plac'd in the Colonies, will give Ground to the Friends of Government there, in their Endeavours to procure from America every reasonable Concession, or Engagement, and every substantial Aid, that can fairly be desired."

On the Saturday Evening, I saw Mrs. Howe, who inform'd me she had transcrib'd and sent the Paper to Lord Howe in the Country, and she return'd me the Original. On the following Tuesday, Jan. 3, I receiv'd a Note from her, (enclosing a Letter she had receiv'd from Lord Howe the last Night,) wch follows in these Words.

"MRS. HOWE'S Compliments to Dr. Franklin, she encloses him a Letter she received last night, and returns him many thanks for his very obliging present,[1] which has already given her great entertainment. If the Doctor has any spare time for Chess, she will be exceedingly glad to see him any morning this week, and as often as will be agreeable to him,

[1] His Philosophical Writings. — F.

and rejoices in having so good an excuse for asking the favour of his Company.

"*Tuesday.*"

["TO THE HONOURABLE MRS. HOWE, GRAFTON STREET]

"Porter's Lodge, Jany 2d, 1775.

"I have received your packet; and it is with much concern that I collect, from sentiments of such authority as those of our worthy friend, that the desired accommodation threatens to be attended with much greater difficulty than I had flattered myself in the progress of our intercourse, there would be reason to apprehend.

"I shall forward the propositions as intended, not desirous of trespassing further on our friend's indulgence; but retaining sentiments of regard, which his candid and obliging attention to my troublesome inquiries will render ever permanent in the memory of your affectionate, &c.

"HOWE.

"I ought to make excuses likewise to you."

His Lordship had, in his last Conversation with me, acknowledged a Communication between him and the Ministry, to whom he wish'd to make my Sentiments known. In this Letter from the Country he owns the Receipt of them, and mentions his Intention of forwarding them, that is, as I understood it, to the Ministers; but expresses his Apprehensions that such Propositions were not likely to produce any good Effect. Some time after, perhaps a Week, I received a Note from Mrs. Howe desiring to see me. I waited upon her immediately, when she show'd me a Letter from her Brother, of which having no Copy, I can only give from the

best of my Recollection the Purport of it, which I think was this, that he desired to know from their Friend, meaning me, thro' her means, whether it might not be expected, that if that Friend would engage for their Payment of the Tea as a Preliminary, relying on a promised Redress of their Grievances on future Petitions from their Assembly, they would approve of his making such Engagement; and whether the Proposition in the former Paper, (the "Hints,") relating to Aids, was still in Contemplation of the Author. As Mrs. Howe proposed sending to her Brother that Evening, I wrote immediately the following Answer, which she transcrib'd and forwarded.

"The Proposition in the former Paper relating to Aids, is still in Contemplation of the Author, and, as he thinks, is included in the last Article of the present Paper.

"The People of America conceiving that Parliament has no Right to tax them, and that therefore all that has been extorted from them by the Operation of the Duty Acts, with the Assistance of an armed Force, *preceding* the Destruction of the Tea, is so much Injury, which ought in order of time to be first repair'd, before a Demand on the Tea Account can be justly made of them; are not, he thinks, likely to approve of the Measure proposed, and pay *in the first place* the Value demanded, especially as 20 times as much Injury has since been done them by blocking up their Port, and their Castle, also seiz'd before by the Crown has not been restor'd, nor any Satisfaction offered them for the same."

At the Meeting of Parliament after the Holidays, which was on the [19th] of Jan^{y}, [1775,] Lord Howe return'd to Town, when we had another Meeting, at which he lamented

that my Propositions were not such as probably could be accepted; intimated that it was thought I had Powers or Instructions from the Congress to make Concessions on Occasion, that would be more satisfactory. I disclaim'd the having any of any kind, but what related to the presenting of their Petition. We talk'd over all the Particulars in my Paper, which I supported with Reasons; and finally said that if what I had proposed would not do, I should be glad to hear what would do; I wish'd to see some Propositions from the Ministers themselves. His Lord[p] was not, he said, as yet fully acquainted with their Sentiments, but should learn more in a few Days. It was however some weeks before I heard any thing further from him.

In the mean while, Mr. Barclay and I were frequently together on the Affair of preparing the Merchants' Petition, which took up so much of his time that he could not conveniently see Lord Hyde, so he had no Information to give me concerning the "HINTS," and I wonder'd I heard nothing of them from Dr. Fothergill. At length however, but I cannot recollect about what time, the D[r] called on me, and told me he had communicated them, and with them had verbally given my Arguments in support of them, to Lord Dartmouth, who, after consideration, had told him, some of them appear'd reasonable, but others were inadmissible or impracticable. That having occasion to see frequently the Speaker,[1] he had also communicated them to him, as he found him very anxious for a Reconciliation. That the Speaker had said it would be very humiliating to Britain to be oblig'd to submit to such Terms: But the Doctor told him she had been unjust, and ought to bear the Consequences,

[1] Sir Fletcher Norton. — ED.

and alter her Conduct; that the Pill might be bitter, but it would be salutary, and must be swallow'd. That these were the Sentiments of impartial Men, after thorough Consideration and full Information of all Circumstances, and that sooner or later these or similar Measures must be follow'd, or the Empire would be divided and ruined. The Doctor on the whole hop'd some Good would be effected by our Endeavours.

On the 19th of Jan^{y}, I receiv'd a Card from Lord Stanhope, acquainting me, that Lord Chatham, having a Motion to make on the Morrow in the House of Lords, concerning America, greatly desired that I might be in the House, into which Lord S. would endeavour to procure me Admittance. At this time it was a Rule of the House, that no Peer could introduce more than one Friend. The next Morning his Lordship let me know by another Card, that if I attended at two o'Clock in the Lobby, Lord Chatham would be there about that time, and would himself introduce me. I attended, and met him there accordingly. On my mentioning to him what Lord Stanhope had written to me, he said, "Certainly; and I shall do it with the more Pleasure, as I am sure your being present at this Day's Debate will be of more Service to America than mine;" and so taking me by the Arm was leading me along the Passage to the Door that enters near the Throne, when one of the Door-keepers followed, and acquainted him, that by the Order, none were to be carried in at that Door but the eldest Sons or Brothers of Peers; on which he limped back with me to the Door near the Bar, where were standing a Number of Gentlemen, waiting for the Peers who were to introduce them, and some Peers waiting for Friends they expected to introduce; among whom

he delivered me to the Door-keepers, saying aloud, "This is Dr. Franklin, whom I would have admitted into the House;" when they readily open'd the Door for me accordingly.

As it had not been publickly known, that there was any Communication between his Lordship and me, this I found occasioned some Speculation. His Appearance in the House I observed caus'd a kind of Bustle among the Officers, who were hurried in sending Messengers for Members, I suppose those in Connection with the Ministry, something of Importance being expected when that great Man appears, it being but seldom that his infirmities permit his Attendance. I had great Satisfaction in hearing his Motion and the Debate upon it, which I shall not attempt to give here an Account of, as you may find a better in the Papers of the time. It was his Motion for withdrawing the Troops from Boston, as the first Step towards an Accommodation.

The Day following, I received a Note from Lord Stanhope expressing, that, "at the Desire of Lord Chatham, was sent me inclosed the Motion he made in the House of Lords, that I might be possessed of it in the most authentic Manner, by the Communication of the individual Paper, which was read to the House by the Mover himself." I sent Copies of this Motion to America, and was the more pleased with it, as I conceiv'd it had partly taken its Rise from a Hint I had given his L^{p} in a former Conversation. The Motion was in these Words, viz.

LORD CHATHAM'S MOTION, JAN. 20, 1775.

"That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, most humbly to advise and beseech his Majesty, that, in

order to open the Way towards a happy Settlement of the dangerous Troubles in America, by beginning to allay Ferments and soften Animosities there; and above all, for preventing in the mean time any sudden and fatal Catastrophe at Boston, now suffering under the daily Irritation of an Army before their Eyes, posted in their Town, it may graciously please his Majesty, that immediate Orders may be dispatched to General Gage for removing his Majesty's Forces from the Town of Boston, as soon as the Rigour of the Season and other Circumstances indispensable to the Safety and Accommodation of the said Troops, may render the same practicable."

I was quite charm'd with Lord Chatham's Speech in Support of his Motion. He impress'd me with the highest Idea of him, as a great and most able Statesman.[1] Lord Camden, another wonderfully good Speaker and clear close Reasoner, join'd him in the same Argument, as did several other Lords, who spoke excellently well; but all avail'd no more than the whistling of the winds. The Motion was rejected. Sixteen Scotch Peers, and twenty-four Bishops, with all the Lords in possession or Expectation of Places when they vote together unanimously, as they generally do for Ministerial Measures, make a dead Majority that renders all Debating ridiculous in itself, since it can answer no End. Full of the high Esteem I had imbib'd for Lord Chatham, I wrote back to Lord Stanhope the following Note, viz.

[1] It was reported at the time, that his Lordship had concluded his speech with the following remarkable words; "If the ministers thus persevere in *misadvising* and *misleading* the King, I will not say, that they can alienate the affections of his subjects from his crown, but I will affirm, that they will make the crown *not worth his wearing*. I will not say, that the King is betrayed, but I will pronounce that *the kingdom is undone*." — W. T. F.

"Dr. Franklin presents his best Respects to Lord Stanhope, with many Thanks to his Lordship and Lord Chatham for the Communication of so authentic a copy of the motion. Dr. F. is fill'd with admiration of that truly great Man. He has seen, in the course of Life, sometimes Eloquence without Wisdom, and often Wisdom without Eloquence; in the present Instance he sees both united; and both, as he thinks, in the highest Degree possible.[1]

"*Craven Street, Jan. 23d*, 1775."

As in the Course of the Debate some Lords in the Administration had observed, that it was common and easy to censure their Measures, but those who did so propos'd nothing better, Lord Chatham mention'd, that he should not be one of those idle Censurers; that he had thought long and closely upon the Subject, and purposed soon to lay before their Lordships the Result of his Meditation, in a Plan for healing our Differences, and restoring Peace to the Empire, to which his present Motion was preparatory: I much desir'd to know what his Plan was, and intended waiting on him to see if he would communicate it to me; but he went the next Morning to Hayes, and I was so much taken up with Daily Business and Company, that I could not easily get out to him. A few Days after, however, Lord Mahon call'd on me, and told me Lord Chatham was very desirous of seeing me; when I promis'd to be with him the Friday following several Engagements preventing my going sooner.

On Friday the 27th, I took a Post-Chaise about 9 o'Clock, and got to Hayes about 11; but my Attention being engag'd in Reading a new Pamphlet, the Post boy drove me a Mile

[1] The original letter is at Chevening. — Ed.

or two beyond the Gate. His Lordship, being out on an Airing in his Chariot, had met me before I reach'd Hayes, unobserv'd by me, turn'd and follow'd me, and not finding me there, concluded, as he had seen me reading, that I had pass'd by mistake, and sent a Servant after me. He express'd great Pleasure at my Coming, and acquainted me in a long Conversation with the Outlines of his Plan, parts of which he read to me. He said he had communicated it only to Lord Camden, whose Advice he much rely'd on, particularly in the Law Part; and, that he would as soon as he could get it transcrib'd, put it into my Hands for my Opinion and Advice, but should show it to no other Person before he presented it to the House; and he requested me to make no mention of it, otherwise Parts might be misunderstood and blown upon beforehand, and others perhaps adopted and produc'd by Ministers as their own. I promis'd the closest Secrecy, and kept my Word, not even mentioning to any one that I had seen him. I din'd with him, his Family only present, and return'd to town in the evening.

On the Sunday following, being the 29th, his Lordship came to Town, and call'd upon me in Craven Street. He brought with him his Plan transcrib'd, in the form of an Act of Parliament, which he put into my Hands, requesting me to consider it carefully, and communicate to him such Remarks upon it as should occur to me. His Reason for desiring to give me that Trouble was, as he was pleas'd to say, that he knew no Man so thoroughly acquainted with the Subject, or so capable of giving Advice upon it; that he thought the Errors of Ministers in American Affairs had been often owing to their not obtaining the best Information: that therefore tho' he had considered the Business thoroughly

in all its Parts, he was not so confident of his own Judgment, but that he came to set it right by mine, as Men set their Watches by a Regulator. He had not determined when he should produce it in the House of Lords; but in the Course of our Conversation, considering the precarious Situation of his Health, and that if presenting it was delay'd, some Intelligence might arrive which would make it seem less seasonable, or in all parts not so proper; or the Ministry might engage in different Measures, and then say, "If you had produc'd your Plan sooner, we might have attended to it;" he concluded to offer it the Wednesday following; and therefore wish'd to see me upon it the preceding Tuesday, when he would again call upon me, unless I could conveniently come to Hayes. I chose the latter, in respect to his Lordship, and because there was less likelihood of interruptions; and I promis'd to be with him early, that we might have more time. He staid with me near two Hours, his Equipage waiting at the Door, and being there while People were coming from Church, it was much taken notice of, and talk'd of, as at that time was every little Circumstance that men thought might possibly any way affect American Affairs. Such a Visit from so great a Man, on so important a Business, flattered not a little my Vanity; and the Honour of it gave me the more Pleasure, as it happen'd on the very Day 12 month that the Ministry had taken so much pains to disgrace me before the Privy Council.[1]

I apply'd myself immediately to the reading and considering the Plan of which when it was afterwards publish'd, I sent you a Copy, and therefore need not insert it here. I put down upon Paper, as I went along, some short Memoran-

[1] In the affair of Hutchinson's Letters. — ED.

dums for my future Discourse with him upon it, which follow, that you may, if you please, compare them with the Plan; and, if you do so, you will see their Drift and Purpose which otherwise would take me much Writing to explain.

"Tuesday, Jan. 31, 75.

"Notes *for Discourse with Ld C. on his Plan*

"Voluntary Grants and forced Taxes not to be expected of the same People at the same time.

"Permanent Revenue will be objected to. Would not a Temporary Agreement be best, suppose for 100 Years?

"Does the whole of the Rights claim'd in the Petition of Rights relate to England only?

"The American Naturalization Act gives all the Rights of natural-born Subjects to Foreigners residing there 7 Years. Can it be supposed, that the Natives there have them not?

"If the King should raise Armies in America, would Britain like their being brought hither as the King might bring them when he pleased.

"An Act of Parliament requires the Colonies to furnish sundry Articles of Provision and Accommodation to Troops quarter'd among them; this may be made very burthensome to Colonies that are out of favour.

"If a permanent Revenue, why not the same Privileges in Trade with Scotland?

"Should not the Lands conquer'd by Britain and the Colonies in Conjunction be given them, (reserving a Quit rent,) from whence they might form Funds to enable them to pay?

"Instructions about Agents to be withdrawn.

"Grants to be for three Years, at the End of which a new Congress; and so from 3 to 3 Years.

"Congress to have the general Defence of the Frontiers, making and regulating new Settlements.

"Protection mutual.

"We go into all your Wars.

"Our Settlements cost you nothing.

"Take the Plan of Union.

"'Defence, Extension, and Prosperity of.' The late Canada Act prevents their Extension, and may check their Prosperity.

"Laws should be secure as well as Charters.

"Perhaps if the legislative Power of Parl[t] is own'd in the Colonies, they may make a Law to forbid the Meeting of any Congress, &c."

I was at Hayes early on Tuesday, agreeable to my Promise, when we enter'd into Consideration of the Plan; but, tho' I stay'd near 4 Hours, his L[p] in the manner of I think all eloquent Persons, was so full and diffuse in Supporting every particular I question'd, that there was not time to go thro' half my Memorandums. He is not easily interrupted; and I had such Pleasure in hearing him, that I found little Inclination to interrupt him. Therefore, considering that neither of us had much Expectation, that the Plan would be adopted entirely as it stood; that, in the Course of its Consideration, if it should be receiv'd, proper Alterations might be introduc'd; that, before it could be settled America should have Opportunity to make her Objections and Propositions of Amendment; that, to have it receiv'd at all here, it must

seem to comply a little with some of the prevailing Prejudices of the Legislature; that, if it was not so perfect as might be wish'd, it would at least serve as a Basis for Treaty, and in the mean time prevent Mischiefs; and that, as his Lord[p] had determined to offer it the next Day, there was not time to make Changes and another fair Copy; I therefore ceas'd my Querying; and tho' afterwards many People were pleas'd to do me the Honour of Supposing I had a considerable Share in Composing it, I assure you, that the Addition of a single Word only was made at my Instance, viz. "*Constitutions*" after "Charters"; for my filling up at his Request, a Blank with the Titles of Acts proper to be repeal'd, which I took from the Proceedings of the Congress, was no more than might have been done by any Copying Clerk.

On Wednesday, Lord Stanhope, at Lord Chatham's Request, call'd upon me, and carry'd me down to the House of Lords, which was soon very full. Lord Chatham, in a most excellent Speech, introduc'd, explain'd, and supported his Plan. When he sat down, Lord Dartmouth rose, and very properly said, it contain'd Matter of such Weight and Magnitude, as to require much Consideration, and he therefore hoped the noble Earl did not expect their Lordships to decide upon it by an immediate Vote, but would be willing it should lie upon the Table for Consideration. Lord Chatham answered readily, that he expected nothing more.

But Lord Sandwich rose, and in a petulant, vehement Speech, opposed its being receiv'd at all, and gave his Opinion, that it ought to be immediately *rejected*, with the Contempt it deserv'd. That he could never believe it to be the Production of any British Peer. That it appear'd to him rather the Work of some American; and turning his Face towards

me, who was leaning on the Bar, said, he fancied he had in his Eye the Person who drew it up, one of the bitterest and most mischievous Enemies this Country had ever known. This drew the Eyes of many Lords upon me; but as I had no Inducement to take it to myself, I kept my Countenance as immoveable as if my Features had been made of Wood. Then several other Lords of the Administration gave their Sentiments also for rejecting it, of which Opinion also was strongly the wise Lord Hillsborough. But the Dukes of Richm[d] and Manchester, Lord Shelburne, Lord Camden, Lord Temple, Lord Lyttleton, and others, were for receiving it, some thro' Approbation, and others for the Character and Dignity of the House. One Lord mentioning with Applause, the candid Proposal of one of the Ministers, Lord Dartmouth, his Lord[p] rose again, and said, that having since heard the Opinions of so many Lords against receiving it to lie upon the Table for Consideration, he had alter'd his Mind, could not accept the Praise offer'd him for a Candour of which he was now asham'd, and should therefore give his Voice for rejecting the Plan immediately.

I am the more particular in this, as it is a Trait of that Nobleman's Character, who from his Office is suppos'd to have so great a Share in American Affairs, but who has in reality no Will or Judgment of his own, being with Dispositions for the best Measures, easily prevail'd with to join in the worst.

Lord Chatham, in his Reply to Lord Sandwich, took notice of his illiberal Insinuation, that the Plan was not the Person's who propos'd it; declar'd that it was intirely his own; a Declaration he thought himself the more oblig'd to make, as many of their Lords appear'd to have so mean

an Opinion of it; for if it was so weak or so bad a Thing, it was proper in him to take care that no other Person should unjustly share in the Censure it deserved. That it had been heretofore reckon'd his Vice, not to be apt to take Advice; but he made no Scruple to declare, that if he were the first Minister of this Country and had the Care of Settling this momentous Business, he should not be asham'd of publickly calling to his Assistance a Person so perfectly acquainted with the whole of American Affairs as the Gentleman alluded to, and so injuriously reflected on; one, he was pleas'd to say, whom all Europe held in high Estimation for his Knowledge and Wisdom, and rank'd with our Boyles and Newtons; who was an Honour, not to the English Nation only, but to Human Nature. I found it harder to stand this extravagant Compliment than the preceding equally extravagant Abuse; but kept as well as I could an unconcern'd Countenance, as not conceiving it to relate to me.

To hear so many of these *Hereditary* Legislators declaiming so vehemently against, not the Adopting merely, but even the *Consideration* of a Proposal so important in its Nature, offered by a Person of so weighty a Character, one of the first Statesmen of the Age, who had taken up this Country when in the lowest Despondency, and conducted it to Victory and Glory, thro' a War with two of the mightiest Kingdoms in Europe; to hear them censuring his Plan, not only for their own Misunderstandings of what was in it, but for their Imaginations of what was not in it, which they would not give themselves an Opportunity of rectifying by a second Reading; to perceive the total Ignorance of the Subject in some, the Prejudice and Passion of others, and the

wilful Perversion of Plain Truth in several of the Ministers; and upon the whole to see it so ignominiously rejected by so great a Majority, and so hastily too, in Breach of all Decency, and prudent Regard to the Character and Dignity of their Body, as a third Part of the National Legislature, gave me an exceeding mean Opinion of their Abilities, and made their Claim of Sovereignty over three Millions of virtuous, sensible People in America seem the greatest of Absurdities, since they appear'd to have scarce Discretion enough to govern a Herd of Swine. *Hereditary Legislators!* thought I. There would be more Propriety, because less Hazard of Mischief, in having (as in some University of Germany) *Hereditary Professors of Mathematicks!* But this was a hasty Reflection: For the *elected* House of Commons is no better, nor ever will be while the Electors receive Money for their Votes, and pay Money wherewith Ministers may bribe their Representatives when chosen.

After this Proceeding I expected to hear no more of any Negociation for settling our Difference amicably. Yet in a Day or two I had a Note from Mr. Barclay, requesting a Meeting at Dr. Fothergill's, the 4th of February, in the Evening. I attended accordingly, and was surprized by being told that a very good Disposition appear'd in Administration; that the "HINTS" had been considered, and several of them thought reasonable, and that others might be admitted with small Amendments. The good Doctor, with his usual Philanthropy, expatiated on the Miseries of War; that even a bad Peace was preferable to the most successful War; that America was growing in Strength; and whatever she might be oblig'd to submit to at present, she would in a few Years be in a Condition to make her own Terms.

Mr. B. hinted how much it was in my Power to promote an Agreement; how much it would be to my Honour to effect it; and that I might expect not only Restoration of my old Place, but almost any other I could wish for, &c. I need not tell you, who know me so well, how improper and disgusting this Language was to me. The Doctor's was more suitable. Him I answer'd, that we did not wish for War, and desir'd nothing but what was reasonable and necessary for our Security and Well-being. To Mr. Barclay I reply'd that the Ministry, I was sure, would rather give me a Place in a Cart to Tyburn, than any other Place whatever. And to both, that I sincerely wish'd to be serviceable; that I needed no other Inducement than to be shown how I might be so; but saw they imagined more to be in my Power than really was. I was then told again, that Conferences had been held upon the "HINTS"; and the Paper being produced was read; that I might hear the Observations that had been made upon them separately, which were as follows.

1. The first Article was approved.

2. The Second agreed to, so far as related to the Repeal of the Tea Act. But Repayment of the Duties that had been collected was refused.

3. The third not approved, as it implied a Deficiency of Power in the Parliament that made those Acts.

4. The fourth approved.

5. The fifth agreed to, but with a Reserve, that no Change prejudicial to Britain was to be expected.

6. The sixth agreed to, so far as related to the Appropriation of the Duties: but the Appointment of the Officers and their Salaries to remain as at present.

7. The seventh, relating to Aids in Time of Peace, agreed to.

8. The eighth, relating to the Troops, was inadmissible.

9. The ninth could be agreed to, with this Difference, that no Proportion should be observ'd with regard to preceding Taxes, but each Colony should give at pleasure.

10. The tenth agreed to, as to the Restitution of Castle William; but the Restriction on the Crown in building Fortresses refused.

11. The eleventh refus'd absolutely, except as to the Boston Port Bill, which would be repeal'd; and the Quebec Act might be so far amended, as to reduce that Province to its ancient Limits. The other Massachusetts Acts, being real Amendments of their Constitution, must for that reason be continu'd, as well as to be a standing Example of the Power of Parliament.

12. The twelfth agreed to, that the Judges should be appointed during good Behaviour, on the Assemblies providing permanent Salaries, such as the Crown should approve of.

13. The thirteenth agreed to, provided the Assemblies make Provision as in the preceding Article.

15. The fifteenth agreed to.

16. The sixteenth agreed to, supposing the Duties paid to the Colony Treasuries.

17. The seventeenth inadmissible.

We had not at this Time a great deal of Conversation upon these Points; for I short'ned it by observing, that while the Parliament claim'd and exercis'd a Power of altering our Constitutions at pleasure, there could be no Agreement; for we were render'd unsafe in every Privilege we had a Right

to, and were secure in nothing. And it being hinted how necessary an Agreement was for America, since it was so easy for Britain to burn all our Seaport Towns, I grew warm, said that the chief Part of my little Property consisted of Houses in those Towns; that they might make Bonfires of them whenever they pleased; that the Fear of losing them would never alter my Resolution to resist to the last that Claim of Parliament; and that it behov'd this Country to take Care what Mischief it did us; for that sooner or later it would certainly be obliged to make good all Damages with Interest! The Doctor smil'd, as I thought, with some Approbation of my Discourse, passionate as it was, and said, he would certainly repeat it to-morrow to Lord Dartmouth.

In the Discourse concerning the "HINTS," Mr. Barclay happened to mention that going to Lord Hyde's, he found Lord Howe with him; and that Lord Hyde had said to him, "You may speak any thing before Lord Howe, that you have to say to me, for he is a Friend in whom I confide;" upon which he accordingly had spoken with the same Freedom as usual. By this I collected how Lord Howe came by the paper of "HINTS," which he had shown me. And it being mentioned as a Measure thought of, to send over a Commissioner with Powers to enquire into Grievances, and give Redress on certain Conditions, but that it was difficult to find a proper Person; I said "Why not Lord Hyde? He is a man of Prudence and Temper, a Person of Dignity, and, I should think, very suitable for such an Employment; or, if he would not go, there is the other Person you just mentioned, Lord Howe, who would, in my Opinion, do excellently well." This passed as mere Conversation, and we parted.

Lord Chatham's rejected Plan being printed, for the

Publick Judgment, I received 6 Copies from Lord Mahon, his Son-in-law, which I sent to different Persons in America.

A Week and more pass'd in which I heard nothing further of any Negociation, and my time was much taken up among the Members of Parliament, when Mr. Barclay sent me a Note to say, that he was indispos'd, but desirous of seeing me, and should be glad if I would call on him. I waited upon him the next Morning, when he told me, that he had seen Lord Hyde, and had some farther Discourse with him on the ARTICLES; that he thought himself now fully possess'd of what would do in this Business; that he therefore wish'd another Meeting with me and Dr. Fothergill, when he would endeavour to bring prepared a Draft conformable chiefly to what had been proposed and conceded on both sides, with some Propositions of his own. I readily agreed to the Meeting, which was to be on Thursday Evening, the 16th Feb^{y}.

We met accordingly, when Mr. Barclay produced the following Paper, viz.

"A PLAN, which, its believed, would produce a ***permanent Union*** between Great Britain and her Colonies.

"1st. The tea destroyed to be paid for: And in order that no time may be lost, to begin the desireable Work of Conciliation, it is proposed, that the Agent or Agents, in a petition to the King, should engage that the Tea destroyed shall be paid for; and, in consequence of that engagement, a Commissioner to have authority by a Clause in an Act of Parliament, to open the Port (by a suspension of the Boston Port Act) when that Engagement shall be complied with.

"2d. The Tea-Duty Act to be repealed, as well for the Advantage of Great Britain as the Colonies.

"3d. Castle William to be restored to the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, as formerly, before it was deliver'd up by Govr Hutchinson.

"4th. As it is believed, that the *Commencement* of conciliatory measures will in a considerable degree, quiet the Minds of the Subjects in America, it is proposed that the Inhabitants of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay should petition the King, and state their objections to the said Act.[1] And it is to be *understood*, that the said Act shall be repealed. In the *Interim*, the Commissioner to have power to suspend the Act in order to enable the Inhabitants to petition.

"5th. The several Provinces, who may think themselves aggrieved by the Quebec Bill, to petition in their legislative Capacities: And its to be *understood*, that so far of the Act, as extends the limits of Quebec beyond its ancient Bounds, is to be repealed.

"6th. The act of Henry 8th to be formally disclaimed by Parliament.

"7th. In Time of *Peace*, the Americans to raise within their respective Provinces, by Acts of their own Legislatures, a certain sum or sums, such as *may be thought* necessary for a peace establishment, to pay Governors, Judges, &c. Vide *Laws of Jamaica*.

"8th. In time of *War*, on requisition made by the King, with Consent of Parliament, every Colony shall raise such sums of Money as their Legislatures may think suitable to their Abilities and the public Exigency, to be laid out in raising and paying Men for land or sea service, furnishing

[1] Supposed to mean the Boston Port Act. — F.

Provisions, Transports, or such other purposes as the King shall require and direct.

"9th. The Acts of Navigation to be reëxamined, in order to see whether some Alterations might not be made therein, as much for the Advantage of Great Britain as the Ease of the Colonies.

"10th. A naval Officer to be appointed by the Crown to reside in each Colony, to see those Acts observed.

"N. B. In some Colonies they are *not* appointed by the Crown.

[1] "12th. All Duties arising on the Acts for regulating Trade with the Colonies to be for the public Use of the respective Colonies, and paid into their Treasuries, and an Officer of the Crown to see it done.

"13th. The Admiralty Courts to be reduced to the same Powers as they have in England.

"14th. All Judges in the King's Colony Governments to be appointed during good Behaviour, and to be paid by the Province, agreeable to Article 7.

"N. B. If the King chuses to add to their Salaries, the same to be sent from England.

"15th. The Governors to be supported in the same Manner."

Our Conversation turn'd chiefly upon the *first* Article. It was said that the Ministry only wanted some Opening to be given them, some Ground on which to found the commencement of conciliating Measures, that a Petition containing such an Engagement as mention'd in this Article would answer that purpose. That Preparations were making

[1] The eleventh clause was stricken out. — ED.

to send over more Troops and Ships; that such a Petition might prevent their going, especially if a Commissioner were propos'd. I was therefore urg'd to engage the Colony Agents to join with me in such a Petition. My Answer was, that no Agent had any thing to do with the Tea Business, but those for Massachusetts Bay, who were Mr. Bollan for the Council, myself for the Assembly, and Mr. Lee appointed to succeed me when I should leave England; that the latter therefore could hardly yet be considered as an Agent; and that the former was a cautious, exact Man, and not easily persuaded to take Steps of such Importance without Instructions or Authority; that therefore if such a Step were to be taken, it would lie chiefly upon me to take it; that indeed, if there were, as they suppos'd, a clear Probability of Good to be done by it, I should make no Scruple of hazarding myself in it; but I thought the empowering a Commissioner to suspend the Boston Port Act was a Method too dilatory, and a mere Suspension would not be satisfactory. That if such an Engagement were entred into, all the Massachusetts Acts should be immediately repealed.

They laid hold of the Readiness I had express'd to petition on a Probability of doing good, applauded it, and urg'd me to draw up a Petition immediately. I said it was a Matter of Importance, and with their Leave I would take home the Paper, consider the Propositions as they stood, and give them my Opinion to-morrow Evening. This was agreed to, and for that time we parted.

Weighing now the present dangerous Situation of Affairs in America, and the daily Hazard of widening the Breach there irreparably, I embrac'd the Idea propos'd in the Paper of sending over a Commissioner, as it might be a Means of

suspending military Operations, and bring on a Treaty, whereby Mischief would be prevented, and an Agreement by degrees be form'd and established; I also concluded to do what had been desired of me as to the Engagement, and essay'd a Draft of a Memorial to Lord Dartmouth for that purpose simply, to be sign'd only by myself. As to the sending of a Commissioner, a Measure which I was desired likewise to propose, and express my Sentiments of its Utility, I apprehended my Colleagues in the Agency might be justly displeas'd if I took a Step of such Importance without consulting them, and therefore I sketch'd a joint Petition to that purpose, for them to sign with me if they pleas'd; but, apprehending that would meet with Difficulty, I drew a Letter to Lord Dartmouth, containing the same Proposition, with the Reasons for it, to be sent as from me only. I made also upon Paper some Remarks on the Propositions; with some Hints on a separate Paper, of farther Remarks to be made in Conversation, when we should meet in the Evening of the 17th. Copies of these Papers (except the first, which I do not find with me on Shipboard,) are here plac'd as follows, viz.

"TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,

"The PETITION and MEMORIAL of W. B[ollan,] B. F[ranklin,] and A[rthur] Lee,

"Most humbly sheweth;

"That your Petitioners, being Agents for several Colonies, and deeply affected with the Apprehension of impending Calamities, that now threaten your Majesty's Subjects in America, beg leave to approach your Throne, and to suggest

with all humility their Opinion, formed on much attentive Consideration, that if it should please your Majesty to permit and authorize a Meeting of Delegates from the different Provinces, and appoint some Person or Persons of Dignity and Wisdom from hence to preside in that Meeting, or to confer with the said Delegates, acquaint themselves fully with the true Grievances of the Colonies, and settle the Means of composing all Dissensions, such Means to be afterwards ratify'd by your Majesty, if found just and suitable; your Petitioners are persuaded, from their thorough Knowledge of that Country and People, that such a Measure might be attended with the most salutary Effects, prevent much Mischief, and restore the Harmony which so long subsisted, and is so necessary to the Prosperity and Happiness of all your Majesty's Subjects in every Part of your extensive Dominions. Which that Heaven may preserve entire to your Majesty and your Descendants, is the sincere Prayer of your Majesty's most dutiful Subjects and Servants."

["TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD DARTMOUTH.]

"MY LORD,

"Being deeply apprehensive of the impending Calamities, that threaten the Nation and its Colonies thro' the present unhappy Dissensions, I have attentively considered by what possible means those Calamities may be prevented. The great Importance of a Business which concerns us all, will I hope in some Degree excuse me to your L^p^, if I presume unask'd to offer my humble Opinion, that should his Majesty think fit to authorize Delegates from the several Provinces to meet at such convenient time and Place, as in his Wisdom shall seem meet, then and there to confer with a Commissioner

or Commissioners to be appointed and empowered by his Majesty, on the Means of establishing a firm and lasting Union between Britain and the American Provinces, such a Measure might be effectual for that purpose. I cannot therefore but wish it may be adopted, as no one can more ardently and sincerely desire the general Prosperity of the British Dominions, than, my Lord, your Lordship's most obed[t], etc.

B. FRANKLIN.

["REMARKS ON THE PROPOSITIONS.]

["Art. 1.] In consequence of that Engagement, all the Boston and Massachusetts Acts to be suspended, and on compliance with that Engagement, to be totally repeal'd.

"By this Amendment article 4th will become unnecessary.

"Art. 4 and 5. The numerous Petitions heretofore sent home by the Colony Assemblies, and either refused to be received, or received and neglected, or answered harshly and the Petitioners rebuk'd for making them, have I conceive totally discourag'd that Method of Application; and, if even their Friends were now to propose to them the recurring again to Petitioning, such Friends would be thought to trifle with them. Besides, *all* they desire is now before Government in the Petition of the Congress, and the whole or Parts may be granted or refused at Pleasure. The Sense of the Colonies cannot be better obtained by Petitions from different Colonies, than it is by that general Petition.

"Art. 7. Read, *such as they may think necessary.*

"Art. 11. As it stands, of little Importance. The first Proposition was that they should be repealed as unjust. But they may remain, for they will probably not be executed.

"Even with the Amendment propos'd above to Article 1, I cannot think it stands as it should do. If the Object be merely the preventing present Bloodshed, and the other Mischiefs to fall on that Country in War, it may possibly answer that End; but if a thorough, hearty Reconciliation is wish'd for, all Cause of Heart-burning should be remov'd, and strict Justice be done on both Sides. Thus the Tea should not only be paid for on the Side of Boston, but the Damage done to Boston by the Port Act should be repair'd, because it was done contrary to the Custom of all Nations, Savage as well as civiliz'd, of first demanding Satisfaction.

"Art. 14. The Judges should receive nothing from the King.

"As to the other two Acts, the Massachusetts must suffer all the Hazards and Mischiefs of War, rather than admit the Alteration of their Charters and Laws by Parliament. 'They, who can give up essential Liberty to obtain a little temporary Safety, deserve neither Liberty nor Safety.'

"B. FRANKLIN."

"HINTS.

"I doubt the Regulating Duties will not be accepted, without enacting them, and having the Power of appointing the Collectors, in the Colonies.

"If we mean a hearty Reconciliation, we must deal candidly, and use no Tricks.

"The Assemblies are many of them in a State of Dissolution. It will require Time to make new Elections; then to meet and chuse Delegates, supposing all could meet. But the Assembly of the Massachusetts Bay cannot act under the new Constitution, nor meet the new Council for that pur-

pose, without acknowledging the Power of Parliament to alter their Charter, which they never will do. The language of the Proposal is, *Try on your Fetters first, and then, if you don't like 'em, petition and we will consider.*

"Establishing Salaries for Judges may be a general Law. For Governors not so, the Constitutions of Colonies differing. It is possible Troops may be sent to *particular* Provinces, to burthen them when they are out of favour.

"Canada. We cannot endure despotism over any of our Fellow Subjects. We must all be free, or none."

That afternoon I received the following Note from Mrs. Howe, enclosing another from Lord Howe, viz.

"MRS. HOWE's compliments to Dr. Franklin; she has just received the enclosed note from Lord Howe, and hopes it will be convenient to him to come to her, either to-morrow or Sunday any hour most convenient to him, which she begs he will be so good to name.

"*Grafton Street, Friday Feb.* 17.

[*Enclosed in the foregoing.*]

["TO THE HONOURABLE MRS. HOWE.]

"I wish you to procure me an opportunity to see Dr. Franklin at your House to-morrow or on Sunday morning for an essential purpose.

"*Grafton Street, Friday, four o'clock.*"[1]

I had not heard from his Lordship for some time, and readily answer'd, that I would do myself the Honour of waiting upon him at her House to-morrow at 11 o'Clock.

Mr. Barclay, Dr. Fothergill and myself, met according to Appointment at the Doctor's House. I deliver'd to them the "REMARKS" I had made on the Paper, and we talk'd them over. I read also the Sketches I had made of the Petitions and Memorials; but they being of Opinion, that the Repeal

[1] Endorsed by F. "rec'd Friday 5 o'clock, Feb. 17. 1775." — ED.

of none of the Massachusetts Acts could be obtain'd by my Engaging to pay for the Tea, the Boston Port Act excepted, and I insisting on a Repeal of *all*, otherwise declining to make the Offer, that Measure was deferr'd for the present, and I pocketed my Drafts. They concluded however to report my Sentiments, and see if any farther Concession could be obtained. They observ'd too that I had sign'd my "Remarks"; on which I said, that understanding by other means as well as from them, that the Ministers had been acquainted with my being consulted in this Business, I saw no occasion for farther Mystery; and since in conveying and receiving thro' second Hands their Sentiments and mine occasioned Delay, and might be attended with Misapprehension, something being lost, or changed by Mistake, in the Conveyance, I did not see why we should not meet and discuss the Points together at once; that, if this was thought proper, I should be willing and ready to attend them to the Ministerial Persons they confer'd with. They seem'd to approve the Proposal, and said they would mention it.

The next Morning I met Lord Howe, according to Appointment. He seem'd very chearful, having as I imagine, heard from Lord Hyde what that Lord might have had from Mr. Barclay the ev^{g} of the 16th, viz. that I had consented to petition, and engage Payment for the Tea; from whence it was hoped, the ministerial Terms of Accommodation might take place. He let me know that he was thought of to be sent Commissioner for settling the Differences in America; adding, with an Excess of Politeness, that sensible of his own Unacquaintedness with the Business, and of my Knowledge and Abilities, he could not think of undertaking it without me; but, with me, he should do it most readily;

for he should found his Expectations of Success on my Assistance. He therefore had desired this Meeting, to know my Mind upon a Proposition of my going with him in some Shape or other, as a Friend, an Assistant, or Secretary: That he was very sensible if he should be so happy as to effect any thing valuable, it must be wholly owing to the Advice and Assistance I should afford him; that he should therefore make no Scruple of giving me upon all Occasions the full Honour of it; that he had declar'd his Opinion of my good Dispositions towards Peace, and what he now wish'd was to be authoriz'd by me to say, that I consented to accompany him, and would coöperate with him in the great Work of Reconciliation. That the Influence I had over the Minds of People in America was known to be very extensive; and that I could, if any man could, prevail with them to comply with reasonable Propositions.

I reply'd, that I was oblig'd to his Lordship for the favourable Opinion he had of me, and for the Honour he did me in proposing to make Use of my Assistance; that I wish'd to know what Propositions were intended for America; that, if they were reasonable ones in themselves, possibly I might be able to make them appear such to my Countrymen; but, if they were otherwise, I doubted whether that could be done by any Man, and certainly I should not undertake it. His Lordship then said, that he should not expect my Assistance without a proper Consideration. That the Business was of great Importance; and if he undertook it, he should insist on being enabled to make generous and ample Appointments for those he took with him, particularly for me; as well as a firm Promise of subsequent Rewards. "And," says he, "that the Ministry may have an Oppor-

tunity of showing their good Disposition towards yourself, will you give me leave, Mr. Franklin, to procure for you previously some Mark of it, suppose the Payment here of the Arrears of your Salary, as Agent for New England, which I understand they have stop[t] for some time past?" "My Lord," says I, "I shall deem it a great Honour to be in any shape join'd with your Lordship in so good a Work; but if you hope Service from any Influence I may be suppos'd to have, drop all Thoughts of procuring me any previous Favour from Ministers; my accepting them, would destroy the very Influence you propose to make use of; they would be considered as so many Bribes to betray the Interest of my Country: Only let me see the Propositions, and if I approve of them, I shall not hesitate a Moment, but will hold myself ready to accompany your Lordship at an hour's Warning." He then said, he wish'd I would discourse with Lord Hyde upon the Business, and ask'd if I had any Objection to meet his Lordship. I answered, none, not the least. That I had a great respect for Lord Hyde, and would wait upon him whenever he should please to permit it. He said he would speak to Lord Hyde, and send me Word.

On the Monday following, I receiv'd a Letter from Lord Howe. To understand it better, it is necessary to reflect, that in the Interim, there was Opportunity for Mr. Barclay to communicate to that Nobleman the "REMARKS" I had made on the Plan, the Sight of which had probably changed the Purpose of making any Use of me on the Occasion. The letter follows.

"Grafton Street, Feby 20th, 1775. (P. R. O.)

"Not having had a convenient opportunity to talk with Lord Hyde until this morning, on the subject I mentioned when I had, my worthy friend, the

pleasure to see you last, I now give you the earliest information of his Lordship's sentiments upon my proposition.

"He declares he has no personal objections, and that he is always desirous of the conversation of men of knowledge, consequently, in that respect, would have a pleasure in yours. But he apprehends, that on the present American contest your principles and his, or rather those of Parliament, are as yet so wide from each other, that a meeting merely to discuss them might give you unnecessary trouble. Should you think otherwise, or should any propitious circumstances approximate such distant sentiments, he would be happy to be used as a channel to convey what might tend to harmony from a Person of credit to those in Power. And I will venture to advance, from my knowledge of his Lordship's opinion of men and things, that nothing of that nature would suffer in the passage.

"I am, with a sincere regard, your most obed^{t} serv^{t},

"HOWE.

"To DR. FRANKLIN."

As I had no desire of obtruding myself upon Lord Hyde, tho' a little piqu'd at his declining to see me, I thought it best to show a decent Indifference, which I endeavoured in the following Answer.

"Craven Street, Feb. 20th, 1775.

"Having nothing to offer on the American Business in addition to what Lord Hyde is already acquainted with from the Papers that have passed, it seems most respectfull not to give his Lordship the Trouble of a Visit; since a mere Discussion of the Sentiments contained in those Papers is not, in his opinion, likely to produce any good Effect. I am thankful, however, to his Lordship for the Permission of waiting on him, which I shall use if any thing occurs, that may give a Chance of Utility in such an Interview.

"With sincere Esteem and Respect, I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's most obed^{t} hum serv^{t},

"B. FRANKLIN.

"To LORD HOWE."

On the Morning of the same Day, Feb. 20, it was currently and industriously reported all over the Town, that Lord North would that day, make a pacific Motion in the House for healing all Differences between Britain and America. The House was accordingly very full, and the Members full of Expectation. The Bedford Party inimical to America, and who had urg'd severe Measures, were alarm'd, and began to exclaim against the Minister for his Timidity, and the Fluctuation of his *Politicks;* they even began to count Voices, to see if they could not, by negativing his Motion, at once unhorse him, and throw him out of Administration. His Friends were therefore alarm'd for him; and there was much Caballing and Whispering. At length a Motion, as one had been promis'd, was made, but whether that originally intended is with me very doubtful. I suspect, from its imperfect Composition, from its Inadequateness to answer the purpose previously profess'd, and from some other Circumstances, that when first drawn it contain'd more of Mr. Barclay's Plan, but was curtail'd by Advice, just before it was delivered. My old Proposition of giving up the Regulating Duties to the Colonies was in part to be found in it, and many who knew nothing of that Transaction said it was the best Part of the Motion. It was as follows.

LORD NORTH'S MOTION, FEB. 20, 1775.

"That it is the Opinion of this Committee, that when the Governor, Council, and Assembly, or General Court of his Majesty's Provinces or Colonies shall propose to make Provision according to their respective Conditions, Circumstances and Situations, for contributing their Proportion to the common Defence, such Proportion to be raised under

the Authority of the General Court or General Assembly of such Province or Colony, and disposable by Parliament; and shall engage to make Provision also for the Support of the Civil Government and the Administration of Justice in such Province or Colony, it will be proper, if such Proposal shall be approved by his Majesty in Parliament, and for so long as such provision shall be made accordingly, to forbear, in respect of such Province or Colony, to levy any Duties, Tax or Assessment, or to impose any further Duty, Tax or Assessment, except only such Duties as it may be expedient to impose for the Regulation of Commerce; the nett Produce of the Duties last mentioned to be carried to the Account of such Province, Colony or Plantation, respectively."

After a good deal of wild Debate, in which this Motion was supported upon various and inconsistent Principles by the ministerial People, and even met with an Opposition from some of them, which show'd a want of Concert, probably from the suddenness of the Alterations above supposed, they all agreed at length, as usual, in Voting it by a large Majority.

Hearing nothing during all the following Week from Messrs. Barclay and Fothergill, (except that Lord Hyde, when acquainted with my Willingness to engage for the Payment of the Tea, had said it gave him *new Life*,) nor any thing from Lord Howe, I mention'd his Silence occasionally to his Sister, adding that I suppos'd it owing to his finding what he had propos'd to me was not likely to take place; and I wish'd her to desire him, if that was the Case, to let me know it by a Line, that I might be at Liberty to take other Measures. She did so as soon as he return'd from the Country, where he

had been for a day or two; and I receiv'd from her the following note.

"Mrs. Howe's compliments to Dr. Franklin; Lord Howe not quite understanding the message received from her, will be very glad to have the pleasure of seeing him, either between twelve and one this morning, (the only hour he is at liberty this day,) at her House, or at any hour to-morrow most convenient to him.

"*Grafton Street, Tuesday.*"

I met his Lordship at the Hour appointed. He said, that he had not seen me lately, as he expected daily to have something more material to say to me than had yet occurr'd; and hop'd that I would have call'd on Lord Hyde, as I had intimated I should do when I apprehended it might be useful, which he was sorry to find I had not done. That there was something in my verbal Message by Mrs. Howe, which perhaps she had apprehended imperfectly; it was the Hint of my Purpose to take other Measures. I answer'd that having since I had last seen his Lordship, heard of the Death of my Wife at Philadelphia, in whose Hands I had left the Care of my Affairs there, it was become necessary for me to return thither as soon as conveniently might be; that what his Lordship had propos'd of my accompanying him to America might, if likely to take place, postpone my Voyage to suit his Conveniency; otherwise I should proceed by the first Ship. That I did suppose by not hearing from him, and by Lord North's Motion, all Thoughts of that kind were laid aside, which was what I only desir'd to know from him.

He said, my last Paper of "REMARKS" by Mr. Barclay, wherein I had made the Indemnification of Boston, for the Injury of Stopping its Port, a Condition of my engaging to pay for the Tea; a Condition impossible to be comply'd with, had discourag'd farther Proceeding on that Idea.

Having a Copy of that Paper in my Pocket, I show'd his Lordship that I had propos'd no such Condition of my Engagement, nor any other than the Repeal of all the Massachusetts Acts. That what follow'd relating to the Indemnification was only expressing my private Opinion, that it would be just, but by no means insisting upon it. He said the Arrangements were not yet determin'd on; that as I now explain'd myself, it appeared I had been much misapprehended; and he wish'd of all things I would see Lord Hyde, and ask'd if I would chuse to meet him there (at Mrs. Howe's), or that he should call upon me. I said that I would by no means give Lord Hyde that Trouble. That since he (Lord Howe) seem'd to think it might be of use, and wished it done soon, I would wait upon Lord Hyde. I knew him to be an early Riser, and would be with him at 8 the next Morning; which Lord Howe undertook to acquaint him with. But I added, that from what Circumstances I could collect of the Disposition of Ministry, I apprehended my Visit would answer no material Purpose. He was of a different Opinion; to which I submitted.

The next Morning, (March 1,) I accordingly was early with Lord Hyde, who receiv'd me with his usual Politeness. We talk'd over a great part of the Dispute between the Countries. I found him ready with all the NewsPaper and Pamphlet Topics, of the Expence of Settling our Colonies, the Protection afforded them, the heavy Debt under which Britain laboured, the Equity of our Contributing to its Alleviation; that many People in England were no more represented than we were, yet all were tax'd and govern'd by Parliament, &c. &c. I answer'd all, but with little Effect; for though his Lordship seemed civilly to hear what

I said, I had reason to believe he attended very little to the purport of it, his Mind being employ'd the while in thinking on what he himself purpos'd to say next.

He had hop'd, he said, that Lord North's Motion would have been satisfactory; and ask'd what could be objected to it. I reply'd, the terms of it were that we should grant Money till Parliament agreed we had given enough, without our knowing beforehand what was expected from us, or what would be deem'd enough, without having the least share in judging of the Propriety of the Measures for which it was to be granted, or of our own Abilities to grant; that these Grants were also to be made under a Threat of exercising a claimed Right of Taxing us at Pleasure, and compelling such Taxes by an armed Force, if we did not give till it should be thought we had given enough; that the Proposition was similar to no mode of obtaining Aids that ever existed, except that of a Highwayman, who presents his Pistol and Hat at a Coach Window, demanding no specific Sum, but if you will give all your Money or what he is pleas'd to think sufficient, he will civilly omit putting his own Hands into your Pockets; if not, there is his Pistol. That the Mode of raising Contributions in an Enemy's Country was fairer than this, since there an explicit Sum was demanded, and the People who were raising it knew what they were about, and when they should have done; and that in short no free People could ever think of beginning to grant upon such Terms. That, besides, a new Dispute had now been rais'd by the Parliament's pretending to a Power of altering our Charters and establish'd Laws, which was of still more importance to us than their Claim of Taxation, as it set us all adrift, and left us without a privilege we could depend

upon, but at their Pleasure; this was a situation we could not possibly be in; and as Lord North's Proposition had no Relation to this Matter, if the other had been such as we could have agreed to, we should still be far from a Reconciliation.

His Lordship thought I misunderstood the Proposition; on which I took it out and read it. He then wav'd that Point, and said he should be glad to know from me, what would produce a Reconciliation. I said that his Lordship I imagin'd, had seen several Proposals of mine for that purpose. He said he had; but some of my Articles were such as could never be agreed to. That it was apprehended I had several Instructions and Powers to offer more acceptable Terms, but was extreamly reserv'd, and perhaps from a Desire he did not blame, of doing better for my Constituents; but my Expectations might deceive me; and he did think I might be assur'd I should never obtain better Terms than what were now offer'd by Lord North. That Administ. had a sincere desire of restoring Harmony with America, and it was thought, if I would coöperate with them, the Business would be easy. That he hoped I was above retaining Resentment against them, for what nobody now approv'd, and for which Satisfaction might be made me: That I was as he understood in high Esteem among the Americans; that if I would bring about a Reconciliation on Terms suitable to the Dignity of Government, I might be as highly and generally esteemed here, and be honoured and rewarded perhaps, beyond my Expectation.

I reply'd, that I thought I had given a convincing Proof of my sincere Desire of promoting Peace, when, on being informed that all wanted for the Honour of Government,

was to obtain Payment for the Tea, I offer'd, without any Instruction to warrant my so doing, or Assurance that I should be reimburs'd, or my Conduct approved, to engage for that Payment, if the Massachusetts Acts were to be repeal'd; an Engagement in which I must have risqu'd my whole Fortune, which I thought few besides me would have done. That in truth private Resentments had no Weight with me in publick Business: That I was not the reserv'd Man imagin'd, having really no secret Instructions to act upon. That I was certainly willing to do every thing that could reasonably be expected of me. But if any supposed I could prevail with my Countrymen to take black for white, and Wrong for Right, it was not knowing either them or me; they were not capable of being so impos'd on, nor was I capable of attempting it.

He then ask'd my Opinion of sending over a Commissioner for the purpose mentioned in a preceding Part of this Account, and my Answer was to the same effect. By the Way, I apprehend, that to give me an Opportunity of Discoursing with Lord Hyde on that Point, was a principal Motive with Lord Howe for urging me to make this Visit. His Lordship did not express his own Sentiments upon it. And thus ended this Conversation.

Three or four Days after, I receiv'd the following note from Mrs. Howe.

"Mrs. HOWE's compliments to Dr. Franklin; Lord Howe begs to have the pleasure of meeting him once more before he goes, at her house; he is at present out of town, but returns on Monday, and any day or hour after that, that the Doctor will name, he will be very glad to attend him.

"*Grafton Street, Saturday,*" [*March* 4.]

I answer'd that I would do myself the honour of waiting on Lord Howe, at her House, the Tuesday following, at 11

o'Clock. We met accordingly. He began by saying, that I had been a better Prophet than himself, in foreseeing that my Interview with Lord Hyde would be of no great Use; and then said, that he hoped I would excuse the Trouble he had given me, as his Intentions had been good both towards me and the Publick. He was sorry, that at present there was no Appearance of Things going into the Train he had wished, but that possibly they might yet take a more favourable Turn; and as he understood I was going soon to America, if he should chance to be sent thither on that important Business, he hop'd he might still expect my Assistance. I assur'd him of my Readiness at all times of coöperating with him in so good a Work; and so, taking my Leave, and receiving his good Wishes, ended the Negociation with Lord Howe. And I heard no more of that with Messrs. Fothergill and Barclay. I could only gather from some Hints in their Conversation, that neither of them were well pleas'd with the Conduct of the Ministers respecting these Transactions. And a few Days before I left London, I met them by their Desire at the Doctor's House, when they desired me to assure their Friends from them, that it was now their fix'd Opinion, that nothing could secure the Privileges of America, but a firm, sober Adherence to the Terms of the Association made at the Congress, and that the Salvation of English Liberty depended now on the Perseverance and Virtue of America.

During the whole my Time was otherwise much taken up, by Friends calling continually to enquire News from America; Members of both Houses of Parliament to inform me what passed in the Houses, and discourse with me on the Debates, and on Motions made, or to be made; Merchants of London

and of the Manufacturing and Port Towns, on their Petitions; the Quakers, upon theirs, &c. &c.; so that I had no time to take Notes of almost any thing. This Account is therefore chiefly from Recollection, in which doubtless much must have been omitted, from deficiency of Memory; but what there is, I believe to be pretty exact; except that discoursing with so many different Persons about the same time, on the same Subject, I may possibly have put down some things as said by or to one Person, which pass'd in Conversation with another.

A little before I left London, being at the House of Lords, to hear a debate in which Lord Camden was to speak, and who indeed spoke admirably on American Affairs, I was much disgusted, from the Ministerial Side, by many base Reflections on American Courage, Religion, Understanding, &c., in which we were treated with the utmost Contempt, as the lowest of Mankind, and almost of a different Species from the English of Britain; but particularly the American Honesty was abused by some of the Lords, who asserted that we were all Knaves, and wanted only by this Dispute to avoid paying our Debts; that, if we had any Sense of Equity or Justice, we should offer Payment of the Tea, &c. I went home somewhat irritated and heated; and, partly to retort upon this Nation, on the Article of Equity, drew up a Memorial to present to Lord Dartmouth, before my Departure; but, consulting my Friend Mr. [Thomas] Walpole upon it, who is a Member of the House of Commons, he lookt at it and at me several Times alternately, as if he apprehended me a little out of my Senses. As I was in the Hurry of Packing up, I requested him to take the Trouble of showing it to his Neighbour, Lord Camden, and ask his advice

upon it, which he kindly undertook to do; and return'd it me with a Note, which here follows the Memorial.

"To the R^t^ Hon. the E. of Dartmouth, [one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State;] (A. P. S.)

"A Memorial from Benjamin Franklin, Agent to the Province of Massachusetts Bay.

"Whereas an injury done can only give the Party injured a right to full reparation; or in case that be refused, a right to return an Equal injury; and whereas the Blockade of Boston, now continued 9 months, hath every week of its Continuance done damage to that Town, equal to what was suffered there by the India Company; it follows that such *exceeding* damage is an *injury* done by this gov^t^ for which reparation ought to be made; and whereas Reparation of Injuries ought always (agreable to the Custom of all nations, savage as well as civilized,) to be first required, before satisfaction is taken by a return of Damage to the Aggressors; which was not done by Great Britain in the instance above mentioned; I the underwritten do therefore, as their Agent, in the behalf of my Country, and the said Town of Boston, *Protest* against the Continuance of the said Blockade; and I do hereby solemnly demand satisfaction for the accumulated injury done them, beyond the value of the India Company's Tea destroyed.

"And whereas the conquest of the Gulph of St. Lawrence, the Coasts of Labrador and Nova Scotia, and the Fisheries possessed by the French there and on the Banks of Newfoundland, so far as they were more extended than at Present, was made by the *joint Forces* of Britain and the Colonies, the latter having nearly an Equal number of men in that

service with the former; it follows, that the Colonies have an equitable and just right to participate in the advantage of those Fisheries; I do, therefore, in the behalf of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay, Protest against the Act now under consideration in Parliament, for depriving that Province, with others, of that Fishery, (on pretence of their refusing to purchase British Commodities,) as an act highly unjust and injurious; and I give notice, that Satisfaction will probably one day be demanded for all the injury that may be done and suffered by the execution of such Act; and that the injustice of the Proceeding is likely to give such umbrage to *all the Colonies*, that in no future War, wherein other Conquests may be meditated, either a man or a shilling will probably be obtained from any of them to aid such Conquests, till full satisfaction be made as aforesaid.

"B. FRANKLIN.

"*Given in London, March* 1775."

"TO DR. FRANKLIN.

"DEAR SIR,

"I return you the memorial, which it is thought might be attended with dangerous consequences to your person, and contribute to exasperate the Nation.

"I heartily wish you a prosperous voyage, a long health, and am, with the sincerest regard, your most faithful and obed[t] Servant,

"THOMAS WALPOLE.

"*Lincoln's Inn Fields*, 16 *March*, 1775."

Mr. Walpole call'd at my house the next day, and, hearing I was gone to the House of Lords, came there to me, and repeated more fully what was in his Note; adding, that it was thought my having no Instructions directing me to deliver such a Protest, would make it appear still more unjustifiable, and be deem'd a National Affront. I had no

desire to make Matters worse, and being grown cooler took the Advice so kindly given me.

The Evening before I left London, I received a Note from Dr. Fothergill, with some Letters to his Friends in Philadelphia. In that Note he desires me to get those Friends "and two or three more together, and inform them, that, whatever specious Pretences are offered, they are all hollow; and that to get a larger Field on which to fatten a Herd of worthless Parasites, is all that is regarded. Perhaps it may be proper to acquaint them with D. B.'s and our united Endeavours, and the Effects. They will stun at least, if not convince, the most worthy, that nothing very favourable is intended, if more unfavourable Articles cannot be obtained." The Doctor, in the Course of his daily Visits among the Great, in the Practice of his Profession, had full Opportunity of being acquainted with their Sentiments, the Conversation everywhere at this time turning upon the Subject of America.

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772. TO WILLIAM FRANKLIN (B. M.)

May 7, 1775.

I don't understand it as any favour to me or to you, the being continued in an office by which, with all your prudence, you cannot avoid running behindhand, if you live suitably to your Station. While you are in it I know you will execute it with fidelity to your master, but I think independence more honourable than any service, and that in the state of American Affairs which, from the present arbitrary measures is likely soon to take place, you will find yourself in no comfortable Situation, and perhaps wish you had soon disengaged yourself. B. FRANKLIN.

773. TO JOSEPH PRIESTLEY[1] (L. C.)

Philadelphia, May 16. 1775

DEAR FRIEND,

You will have heard, before this reaches you, of a march stolen by the regulars into the country by night, and of their *expedition* back again. They retreated twenty miles in [six] hours.[2] The governor had called the Assembly to propose Lord North's pacific plan, but, before the time of their meeting, began cutting of throats. You know it was said he carried the sword in one hand, and the olive branch in the other; and it seems he chose to give them a taste of the sword first.

He is doubling his fortifications at Boston, and hopes to secure his troops till succour arrives. The place indeed is naturally so defensible, that I think them in no danger. All America is exasperated by his conduct, and more firmly united than ever. The breach between the two countries is grown wider, and in danger of becoming irreparable.

I had a passage of six weeks, the weather constantly so moderate that a London wherry might have accompanied us all the way. I got home in the evening, and the next morning was unanimously chosen by the Assembly of Pennsylvania, a delegate to the Congress now sitting.

In coming over, I made a valuable philosophical discovery, which I shall communicate to you when I can get a little time.[3] At present, am extremely hurried. Yours most affectionately, B. F[RANKLIN.]

[1] One page of print, with Ms. notes by W. T. F. in L. C. — ED.

[2] Alluding to the affair at Lexington and Concord. — S.

[3] Alluding to his experiments with a thermometer in crossing the Gulf Stream. — S.

774. FROM NOBLE WIMBERLEY JONES TO B. FRANKLIN[1] (P. C.)

Savanah, May 16, 1775

Dr Sir

The frequent accounts of your Intentions of leaving England, also unwilling to intrude on time taken up with Matters of Consiquence prevented my Writing as often as I otherwise should have done however constrained by a real Esteem for a Gentleman so great a friend of Mankind in general & of America in particular will I trust plead my Excuse for thus troubling you concern'd at the loss this Province sustain'd thro I am pretty confident thro' the Ill conduct of our Assembly's Nominating another Person I am positive your feelings for America must be great The present Sittuation is truely Alarming, but late Accounts from Bost there has been some Lives lost both on the side of the Soldiers & Americans but as you will have a more perfect Account before this can reach you I forbear mention'g our acct^e^. tis said the Americans had the best of it but bad is the best in Wars between Fathers, Sons Bretheren etc as both lose let which will conquer, therefore the Vile advisers of such a Plan as has been adopted have the more to Answer for God only know where such Matters may end especially in which our Lives Liberties & all that is dear to us depends, tho' our Province has not appeared outwardly forward in the Matter thro' Influence of some Tools of Administration, yet am of oppinion a large Majority do heartily Join in sentiment with the other Colonies perhaps 9, out of ten or more, God send that our Sovereign may those base men that advise such Measures that may prove destructive to his whole Dominion and consider his Subjects in America with the same Affection as those nearer to him and that they naturally must be entitled to the like Rights and Priveledges in one part of his kindom as in the other, And then am in my own mind Confident all disputes would subside I conclude with best Respects that you may Enjoy Life & Health to see these troubles all at an happy End And am Dr Sir

Your most sincere and
Obedt. Hble. Servt
N. W. Jones

Mr Banks the Gentleman I trust you will receive this by has been in this Province some years (and probably with some other business) goes to see his Father & other relations in England of Charracter as I chose to send it by a Private Hand at this time he has promised if he can conveniently to deliver it himself

[1] From the original in the possession of Mr. W. J. DeRenne. — Ed.

775. TO THOMAS BRADFORD[1] (A. P. S.)

Philad. May 16. 75

DEAR SIR

I have just now been requested to apply to you in behalf of a Stranger who is suppos'd to have spoken some disrespectful Words of you, and who is apprehensive of the Resentment of your Company, as he is told they are exceedingly exasperated against him. — He declares that the Words ascribed to him, are much misrepresented, and that if he had an Opportunity of giving you a true Account of them, you would be satisfy'd they were merely jocular without the least Intention of offending you or any one of your Corps. — I do not presume to have any Influence with you, intitling me to mediate in any Affair that concerns you. I only beg leave to mention, that as he is a Clergyman of the Church of England, and some pains has been lately taken in England to represent the Colonies as inimical to that Church, I hope you & the Company will on Enquiry find that the Offence is not so great as to require such Marks of Resentment as may be misconstrued there, and deemed the Effects of a Spirit of Intolerance and Enmity to the Clergy; because at this Juncture it might create us some powerful Enemies, encrease their Number, and diminish that of our Friends. Be so good as to excuse my giving you this Trouble, and believe me to be with sincere Esteem, Sir,

Your most obed[t] Serv[t]

B. F.

[1] T. Bradford (1745–1838), printer, partner with his father (Col. William Bradford) in the publication of the *Pennsylvania Journal*. He was captain of a military company in Philadelphia. — ED.

776. TO MRS. JANE MECOM[1]

Philadelphia, May 26, 1775.

DEAR SISTER,

I have just now heard by Mr. Adams, that you are come out of Boston,[2] and are at Warwic, in Rhode Island. I suppose it must be at good Mr. and Mrs. Greene's, to whom present my affectionate respects. I write this line just to let you know, that I am returned well from England, and that I found my family well; but have not found the repose I wished for, being the next morning after my arrival delegated to the Congress by our Assembly.

I wish to hear from you, and to know how you have left your affairs in Boston; and whether it would be inconvenient for you to come hither, or you wish rather that I should come to see you, if the business I am engaged in will permit. Let me know if you want any assistance, and what is become of cousin Williams and his family, and other friends. Jonathan was at Paris when I left England, but to return in a week or two. I am ever, my dear sister, your very loving brother,

B. FRANKLIN.

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777. TO REV. NATHANIEL SEIDEL[3]

Philadelphia, June 2, 1775

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR: — I am much obliged to your kind Congratulations on my Return; and I rejoice to hear

[1] First printed by Sparks.

[2] Boston was then in a state of siege. — ED.

[3] Nathaniel Seidel (1718–1782), a bishop of the Moravian Church at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. The original of this letter and a copy of Bishop Seidel's letter to which it replies are preserved in the Moravian Archives at Bethlehem. — ED.

that the Brethren are well and prosper. I am persuaded that the Congress will give no Encouragement to any to molest your People on Account of their Religious Principles; and tho much is not in my Power, I shall on every Occasion exert myself to discountenance and prevent such infamous Practices. I remember that you put yourselves into a good Posture of Defence at the Beginning of the last war when I was at Bethlehem; and I then understood from my much respected Friend Bp. Spangenberg, that there were among the Brethren many who did not hold it unlawful to arm in defensive War. If there be still any such among your young Men perhaps it would not be amiss to permit them to learn the Military Dicipline among their Neighbors, as this might conciliate those who at present express some Resentment; and having Arms in Readiness for all who may be able and willing to use them, will be a general Means of Protection against Enemies of all kinds.

But a Declaration of your Society, that tho they can not in conscience compel their young Men to learn the Use of Arms, yet they do not restrain such as are disposed, will operate in the Minds of People very greatly in your Favour. Excuse my Presumption in offering Advice, which indeed may be of little Value, but proceeds from a Heart fill'd with Affection and Respect for a Society I have long highly esteemed, and among whom I have many valuable Friends.

I am with great Regard,
& Veneration
Rev'd Sir
Your most obediant
humble Servant,
B. FRANKLIN.

778. TO W. T. FRANKLIN (A. P. S.)

Philad^{a}, June 13, 1775.

MY DEAR BILLY,

I wonder'd it was so long before I heard from you. The Packet it seems was brought down to Philadelphia, and carry'd back to Burlington before it came hither. I am glad to learn by your Letters that you are happy in your new Situation, and that tho' you ride out sometimes, you do not neglect your Studies. You are now in that time of Life which is the properest to store your Mind with such Knowledge as is hereafter to be ornamental and useful to you. I confide that you have too much Sense to let the Season slip. The Ancients painted *Opportunity* as an old Man with Wings to his Feet & Shoulders, a great Lock of Hair on the forepart of his Head, but bald behind; whence comes our old Saying, *Take Time by the Forelock;* as much as to say, when it is past, there is no means of pulling it back again; as there is no Lock behind to take hold of for that purpose. —

I am sorry your Things have suffered so much Damage in their Way to you; and I fear if I send the Glass you write for, it may likewise be hurt in the Carriage, as I have no Convenience at present of packing it safely, and the Boatmen and Waggoners are very careless People. If you want to use a Glass, your Father has a better, which he will lend you. But a Perspective Glass is not so good as the Eye for Prospects, because it takes in too small a Field. It is only useful to discern better some particular Objects. So, as I expect you here after the Vacation, to go to the College,

I think it best to keep the Glass for you till you come, when you will find it in your Desk and Book Case with your little Beginning of a Library; and I hope about the same time your Books and Things from London will be arrived.

I have received a long Letter from Mrs. Stevenson. It is a kind of Journal for a Month after our Departure, written on different Days, & of different Dates, acquainting me who has call'd, and what is done, with all the small News. In four or five Places, she sends her Love to her dear Boy, hopes he was not very sick at Sea, &c., &c. Mrs. Hewson and the Children were well. She was afraid, she says, to see some of your Friends, not knowing how to excuse your not taking leave of them.

Your Shirts will go by to-morrow's Stage. They are in a little Trunk, and I hope will get safe to hand.

Mr & Mrs Bache send their Love to you. The young Gentlemen are well and pleas'd with your remembring them. Will has got a little Gun, marches with it, and whistles at the same time by way of Fife.

I am ever,
Your affectionate Grandfather
B FRANKLIN

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779. TO JOHN SARGENT[1] (A. P. S.)

Philad^{a}. June 27. 1775

DEAR SIR,

I have written to Messrs. Browns and Collinson to pay the Ballance of my Acct. to you; and I beg you to take the Trouble of receiving & keeping it for me, or my Children.

[1] John Sargent, M.P., for Seaford. — ED.

It may possibly soon be all I shall have left: as my American Property consists chiefly of Houses in our Seaport Towns, which your Ministry have begun to burn, and I suppose are wicked enough to burn them all. It now requires great Wisdom on your Side the Water to prevent a total Separation; I hope it will be found among you. We shall give you one Opportunity more of recovering our Affections and retaining the Connection; and that I fear will be the last. My Love to Mrs. Sargent and your Sons. My best Wishes attend you all; being ever, with sincere Esteem, and the most grateful Sense of your long continu'd Friendship, Dear Sir,

Your affectionate humᵉ Servt
B. FRANKLIN.

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780. TO WILLIAM STRAHAN[1] (L. C.)

Philadᵃ July 5, 1775

MR. STRAHAN,

You are a Member of Parliament, and one of that Majority which has doomed my Country to Destruction. — You have begun to burn our Towns, and murder our People. — Look upon your Hands! They are stained with the Blood of your Relations! — You and I were long Friends: — You are now my Enemy, — and I am

Yours,
B. FRANKLIN

[1] This letter was written but was never sent. — ED.

781. TO JOSEPH PRIESTLEY (L. C.)

Philadelphia, July 7, 1775.

DEAR FRIEND,

The Congress met at a time when all minds were so exasperated by the perfidy of General Gage, and his attack on the country people, that propositions of attempting an accommodation were not much relished; and it has been with difficulty that we have carried another humble petition to the crown, to give Britain one more chance, one opportunity more, of recovering the friendship of the colonies; which, however, I think she has not sense enough to embrace, and so I conclude she has lost them for ever.

She has begun to burn our seaport towns; secure, I suppose, that we shall never be able to return the outrage in kind. She may doubtless destroy them all; but, if she wishes to recover our commerce, are these the probable means? She must certainly be distracted; for no tradesman out of Bedlam ever thought of encreasing the number of his customers, by knocking them on the head; or of enabling them to pay their debts, by burning their houses. If she wishes to have us subjects, and that we should submit to her as our compound sovereign, she is now giving us such miserable specimens of her government, that we shall ever detest and avoid it, as a complication of robbery, murder, famine, fire, and pestilence.

You will have heard, before this reaches you, of the treacherous conduct [of General Gage] to the remaining people in Boston, in detaining their *goods*, after stipulating to let them go out with their *effects*, on pretence that merchants' goods

were not effects; the defeat of a great body of his troops by the country people at Lexington; some other small advantages gained in skirmishes with their troops; and the action at Bunker's Hill, in which they were twice repulsed, and the third time gained a dear victory. Enough has happened, one would think, to convince your ministers, that the Americans will fight, and that this is a harder nut to crack than they imagined.

We have not yet applied to any foreign power for assistance, nor offered our commerce for their friendship. Perhaps we never may; yet it is natural to think of it, if we are pressed. We have now an army on our establishment, which still holds yours besieged. My time was never more fully employed. In the morning at six, I am at the Committee of Safety, appointed by the Assembly to put the province in a state of defence; which committee holds till near nine, when I am at the Congress, and that sits till after four in the afternoon. Both these bodies proceed with the greatest unanimity, and their meetings are well attended. It will scarce be credited in Britain, that men can be as diligent with us from zeal for the public good, as with you for thousands per annum. Such is the difference between uncorrupted new states, and corrupted old ones.

Great frugality and great industry are now become fashionable here. Gentlemen, who used to entertain with two or three courses, pride themselves now in treating with simple beef and pudding. By these means, and the stoppage of our consumptive trade with Britain, we shall be better able to pay our voluntary taxes for the support of our troops. Our savings in the article of trade amount to near five millions sterling per annum.

I shall communicate your letter to Mr. Winthrop; but the camp is at Cambridge, and he has as little leisure for philosophy as myself. Believe me ever with sincere esteem, my dear friend, yours most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

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782. TO MRS. MARY HEWSON (D. S. W.)

Philad^{a}, July 8 1775.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your kind Letter of April 11th. It grieves me, that the present Situation of publick Affairs makes it not eligible for you to come hither with your Family, because I am sure you would otherwise like this Country, and might provide better here for your Children, at the same time that I should be made more happy by your Neighbourhood and Company. I flatter myself, that this may yet happen, and that our public Disputes may be ended by the time your private Business is settled to your mind, and then we may be all happy together.

The Debt you mention of mine to Bolton remains unpaid through his own Neglect. I was charg'd by Matthews £10 for the Tea-Kitchen, but Bolton told me I ought not to pay so much; that he would see what it should be when he got home, and send me word, which he never did. I dunn'd him for it by Letters, as often as Matthews sent to me, but receiv'd no answer.

I take it kindly of my Godson, that he should remember me; my Love to him. I am glad to hear the dear Children are all well through the Measles. I have much delight in my Grandsons. Mr. and Mrs. Bache join in Love to you and yours. Ben,[1] when I delivered him your Blessing,

[1] Benjamin Franklin Bache, grandson of Dr. Franklin. — ED.

inquired the Age of Elizabeth, and thought her yet too young for him; but, as he made no other Objection, and that will lessen every day, I have only to wish being alive to dance with your Mother at the Wedding. Temple was much oblig'd by your kind Remembrance of him. He is now very happy with his Father at Amboy, near New York, but returns to me in September, to prosecute his Studies in our College.

I am much pleased with the Contribution Letter, and thank you for your Share in it. I am still well and hearty, and never went thro' more Business than I do at present. God knows when I shall be permitted to enjoy the Repose I wish. Adieu, my very dear Friend. Continue your pleasing Correspondence, and believe me ever yours most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

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783. MRS. MARGARET STEVENSON (A. P. S.)

Philad[a] July 17. 1775.

MY DEAR DEAR FRIEND

All Trade and Business, Building, Improving, &c., being at a Stand here, and nothing thought of but Arms, I find no Convenience at present of putting out your Money in this Country, and therefore have concluded not to draw it over, but return it into your Hands; and, accordingly inclose an Order for it on Mess[rs] John and Robert Barclay, Cheapside, with whom I left it. I send you also inclos'd an Order on Browns and Collinson for 260£ more, supposing by the Sketch Mr. Williams made of our Accts. that I may owe you about that Sum: When they are finally settled we shall see

where the Ballance lies, and easily rectify it. In the mean time you will be in Possession of a compleat 1000£ which as a Friend I would not advise you to trust in your Stocks; for Britain having begun a War with us, which I apprehend is not likely soon to be ended, and may possibly draw on one with some European Power, there is great Probability of those Stocks falling headlong, as you remember the India did. You had better therefore, I think, put your Money out on a good Mortgage of Land.

I received what you sent me per Major Trent and since your kind Letter of April 24. I rejoice to hear you are well and happy. I am well, and as happy as I can be under the Fatigue of more Business than is suitable to my Age and Inclination. But it follows me everywhere, and I submit. I am delighted with my little Family. Temple is with his Father. He has written to you, & to his other Friends. My Respects to Mr. & Mrs. Elphinstone when you see them. I shall write to them when I can, for I think we are much indebted to them for the Improvement of that fine Boy. My Love to dear Polly & Dolly. I shall write to them by next Opportunity. I pray God to bless & preserve you, being ever, my dear Friend,

Yours most affectionately,

B. F.

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784. VINDICATION AND OFFER FROM CONGRESS TO PARLIAMENT.

Immediately after Dr. Franklin's return to America, he was chosen one of the delegates in Congress from Pennsylvania, and was present at the opening of the Congress in May, 1775. Mr. Vaughan says of the following paper; "It was drawn up in a Committee of Congress, June 25th, 1775, but does not

appear on their Minutes; a severe act of Parliament, which arrived about that time, having determined them not to give the sum proposed. It was first printed in the *Public Advertiser* for July 18th, 1777." At the time mentioned above, that is, June 25th, 1775, Dr. Franklin was on a Committee for reporting to Congress a declaration to be published by General Washington, on his arrival in camp at Cambridge. The discussion of that subject in the Committee may have suggested these remarks. — S.

FORASMUCH as the enemies of America in the Parliament of Great Britain, to render us odious to the nation, and give an ill impression of us in the minds of other European powers, have represented us as unjust and ungrateful in the highest degree; asserting, on every occasion, that the colonies were settled at the expense of Britain; that they were, at the expense of the same, protected in their infancy; that they now ungratefully and unjustly refuse to contribute to their own protection, and the common defence of the nation; that they aim at independence; that they intend an abolition of the Navigation Acts; and that they are fraudulent in their commercial dealings, and purpose to cheat their creditors in Britain, by avoiding the payment of their just debts;

And, as by frequent repetition these groundless assertions and malicious calumnies may, if not contradicted and refuted, obtain further credit, and be injurious throughout Europe to the reputation and interest of the confederate colonies, it seems proper and necessary to examine them in our own just vindication.

With regard to the first, *that the colonies were settled at the expense of Britain*, it is a known fact, that none of the twelve united colonies were settled, or even discovered, at the expense of England. Henry the Seventh, indeed, granted a commission to Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian, and his sons, to

sail into the western seas for the discovery of new countries; but it was to be "*suis eorum propriis sumptibus et expensis*," at their *own* costs and charges. They discovered, but soon slighted and neglected these northern territories; which were, after more than a hundred years' dereliction, purchased of the natives, and settled at the charge and by the labour of private men and bodies of men, our ancestors, who came over hither for that purpose. But our adversaries have never been able to produce any record, that ever the Parliament or government of England was at the smallest expense on these accounts; on the contrary, there exists on the journals of Parliament a solemn declaration in 1642, (only twenty-two years after the first settlement of the Massachusetts, when, if such expense had ever been incurred, some of the members must have known and remembered it,) "That these colonies had been planted and established *without any expense to the state.*" [1]

New York is the only colony in the founding of which England can pretend to have been at any expense; and that was only the charge of a small armament to take it from the Dutch, who planted it. But to retain this colony at the peace, another at that time full as valuable, planted by private countrymen of *ours*, was given up by the crown to the Dutch in exchange, viz. Surinam, now a wealthy sugar colony in Guiana, and which, but for that cession, might still have remained in our possession. Of late, indeed, Britain has

[1] "*Veneris, March 10th*, 1642. Whereas, the plantations in New England have, by the blessing of the Almighty, had good and prosperous success, *without any public charge to this state*, and are now likely to prove very happy for the propagation of the Gospel in those parts, and very beneficial and commodious to this kingdom and nation; the Commons now assembled in Parliament, &c. &c. &c."

been at some expense in planting two colonies, Georgia and Nova Scotia; but those are not in our confederacy;[1] and the expense she has been at in their name has chiefly been in grants of sums unnecessarily large, by way of salaries to officers sent from England, and in jobs to friends, whereby dependants might be provided for; those excessive grants not being requisite to the welfare and good government of the colonies, which good government (as experience in many instances of other colonies has taught us) may be much more frugally, and full as effectually, provided for and supported.

With regard to the second assertion, *that these colonies were protected in their infant state by England*, it is a notorious fact, that, in none of the many wars with the Indian natives, sustained by our infant settlements for a century after our first arrival, were ever any troops or forces of any kind sent from England to assist us; nor were any forts built at her expense, to secure our seaports from foreign invaders; nor any ships of war sent to protect our trade, till many years after our first settlement, when our commerce became an object of revenue, or of advantage to British merchants; and then it was thought necessary to have a frigate in some of our ports, during peace, to give weight to the authority of custom-house officers, who were to restrain that commerce for the benefit of England. Our own arms, with our poverty, and the care of a kind Providence, were all this time our only protection; while we were neglected by the English government; which either thought us not worth its care, or, having no good will to

[1] Georgia joined the other colonies soon afterwards. On the 20th of July, 1775, a letter was read in Congress from the convention of Georgia, giving notice that delegates had been appointed in that colony to attend the Continental Congress. — S.

some of us, on account of our different sentiments in religion and politics, was indifferent what became of us.

On the other hand, the colonies have not been wanting to do what they could in every war for annoying the enemies of Britain. They formerly assisted her in the conquest of Nova Scotia. In the war before last they took Louisburg, and put it into her hands. She made her peace with that strong fortress, by restoring it to France, greatly to their detriment. In the last war, it is true, Britain sent a fleet and army, who acted with an equal army of ours, in the reduction of Canada; and perhaps thereby did more for us, than we in the preceding wars had done for her. Let it be remembered, however, that she rejected the plan we formed in the Congress at Albany, in 1754, for our own defence, by a union of the colonies; a union she was jealous of, and therefore chose to send her own forces; otherwise her aid to protect us was not wanted. And from our first settlement to that time, her military operations in our favour were small, compared with the advantages she drew from her exclusive commerce with us. We are, however, willing to give full weight to this obligation; and, as we are daily growing stronger, and our assistance to her becomes of more importance, we should with pleasure embrace the first opportunity of showing our gratitude by returning the favour in kind.

But, when Britain values herself as affording us protection, we desire it may be considered, that we have followed her in all her wars, and joined with her at our own expense against all she thought fit to quarrel with. This she has required of us; and would never permit us to keep peace with any power she declared her enemy; though by separate treaties we might well have done it. Under such circum-

stances, when at her instance we made nations our enemies, whom we might otherwise have retained our friends, we submit it to the common sense of mankind, whether her protection of us in these wars was not our *just due*, and to be claimed of *right*, instead of being received as a *favour?* And whether, when all the parts of an empire exert themselves to the utmost in their common defence and in annoying the common enemy, it is not as well the *parts* that protect the *whole*, as the *whole* that protects the *parts?* The protection then has been proportionably mutual. And, whenever the time shall come, that our abilities may as far exceed hers, as hers have exceeded ours, we hope we shall be reasonable enough to rest satisfied with her proportionable exertions, and not think we do too much for a part of the empire, when that part does as much as it can for the whole.

The charge against us, *that we refuse to contribute to our own protection*, appears from the above to be groundless; but we farther declare it to be absolutely false; for it is well known, that we ever held it as our duty to grant aids to the crown, upon requisition, towards carrying on its wars; which duty we have cheerfully complied with, to the utmost of our abilities; insomuch that frequent and grateful acknowledgments thereof, by King and Parliament, appear on the records.[1] But, as Britain has enjoyed a most gainful monopoly of our commerce; the same, with our maintaining the dignity of the King's representative in each colony, and all our own

[1] Supposed to allude to certain passages in the journals of the House of Commons on the 4th of April, 1748; 28th of January, 1756; 3d of February, 1756; 16th and 19th of May, 1757; 1st of June, 1758; 26th and 30th of April, 1759; 26th and 31st of March, and 28th of April, 1760; 9th and 20th of January, 1761; 22d and 26th of January, 1762; and 14th and 17th of March, 1763. — V.

[redacted]

But if Britain does not think fit to accept this proposition, we, in order to remove her groundless jealousies, *that we aim at independence, and an abolition of the Navigation Act*, (which hath in truth never been our intention,) and to avoid all future disputes about the right of making that and other acts for regulating our commerce, do hereby declare ourselves ready and willing to enter into a *covenant with Britain*, that she shall fully possess, enjoy, and exercise that right, for an hundred years to come: the same being *bonâ fide* used for the common benefit: and, in case of such agreement, that every Assembly be advised by us to confirm it solemnly by laws of their own, which, once made, cannot be repealed without the assent of the crown.

[1] See Dr. Price's "Appeal on the National Debt."—V.

The last charge, *that we are dishonest traders, and aim at defrauding our creditors in Britain*, is sufficiently and authentically refuted by the solemn declarations of the British merchants to Parliament, (both at the time of the Stamp Act and in the last session,) who bore ample testimony to the general good faith and fair dealing of the Americans, and declared their confidence in our integrity; for which we refer to their petitions on the journals of the House of Commons. And we presume we may safely call on the body of the British tradesmen, who have had experience of both, to say, whether they have not received much more punctual payment from us, than they generally have from the members of their own two Houses of Parliament.

On the whole of the above it appears, that the charge of *ingratitude* towards the mother country, brought with so much confidence against the colonies, is totally without foundation; and that there is much more reason for retorting that charge on Britain, who, not only never contributes any aid, nor affords by an exclusive commerce, any advantages to Saxony, *her* mother country; but no longer since than in the last war, without the least provocation, subsidized the King of Prussia while he ravaged that *mother country*, and carried fire and sword into its capital, the fine city of Dresden! An example we hope no provocation will induce us to imitate.[1]

[1] The following preamble to a proposed resolution of Congress (not passed) was drawn up by Dr. Franklin, about the time that the above *Vindication* was written. — S.

"Whereas the British nation, through great corruption of manners and extreme dissipation and profusion, both private and public, have found all honest resources insufficient to supply their excessive luxury and prodigality, and thereby have been driven to the practice of every injustice, which avarice could dictate or rapacity execute; And whereas, not satisfied with the immense plunder of the East, obtained by sacrificing millions of the human

785. ARTICLES

OF

CONFEDERATION AND PERPETUAL UNION,

ENTRED IN BY THE DELEGATES OF THE SEVERAL COLONIES OF NEW HAMPSHIRE, ETC., IN GENERAL CONGRESS.[1]

(L. C.)

Met at Philadelphia May 10. 1775.

ART. I.

THE Name of this Confederacy shall henceforth be THE UNITED COLONIES OF NORTH AMERICA.

species, they have lately turned their eyes to the West, and, grudging us the peaceable enjoyment of the fruits of our hard labour and virtuous industry, have for years past been endeavouring to extort the same from us, under colour of laws regulating trade, and have thereby actually succeeded in draining us of large sums, to our great loss and detriment; And whereas, impatient to seize the whole, they have at length proceeded to open robbery, declaring by a solemn act of Parliament, that all our estates are theirs, and all our property found upon the sea divisible among such of their armed plunderers as shall take the same; and have even dared in the same act to declare, that all the spoilings, thefts, burnings of houses and towns, and murders of innocent people, perpetrated by their wicked and inhuman corsairs on our coasts, previous to any war declared against us, were just actions, and shall be so deemed, contrary to several of the commandments of God (which by this act they presume to repeal), and to all the principles of right, and all the ideas of justice, entertained heretofore by every other nation, savage as well as civilized; thereby manifesting themselves to be *hostes humani generis;* And whereas it is not possible for the people of America to subsist under such continual ravages without making some reprisals; Therefore, Resolved, &c."

[1] A contemporary copy exists among the papers of the Continental Congress (vol. 47, folios 1–7), L. C. It is endorsed by Franklin: "Sketch of Articles of Confederation," and, in a different hand, "Read before Congress July 21, 1775." — ED.

ART. II.

The said United Colonies hereby severally enter into a firm League of Friendship with each other, binding [on] themselves and their Posterity, for [their common] Defence against their Enemies, for the Security of their Liberties and Properties, the Safety of their Persons and Families, and their mutual and general Welfare.

ART. III.

That each Colony shall enjoy and retain as much as it may think fit of its own present Laws, Customs, Rights, Privileges, and peculiar jurisdictions within its own Limits; and may amend its own Constitution, as shall seem best to its own Assembly or Convention.

ART. IV.

That for the more convenient Management of general Interests, Delegates shall be annually elected in each Colony, to meet in General Congress at such Time and Place as shall be agreed on in the next preceding Congress. Only, where particular Circumstances do not make a Duration necessary, it is understood to be a Rule, that each succeeding Congress be held in a different Colony, till the whole Number be gone through; and so in perpetual Rotation; and that accordingly the next [Congress] after the present shall be held at Annapolis, in Maryland.

ART. V.

That the Power and Duty of the Congress shall extend to the Determining on War and Peace; the entring into Alliances, [sending and receiving ambassadors] (the reconcilia-

tion with Great Britain); the settling all Disputes and Differences between Colony and Colony, [about Limits or any other cause,] if such should arise; and the Planting of new Colonies; when proper. The Congress shall also make such general [ordinances] as, tho' necessary to the General Welfare, particular Assemblies cannot be competent to, viz. [those that may relate to our general] Commerce, or general Currency; the establishment of Posts; [and] the Regulation of [our common] Forces. The Congress shall also have the appointment of all General Officers, civil and military, appertaining to the general Confederacy, such as General Treasurer, Secretary, &c.

ART. VI.

All Charges of Wars, and all other general Expences [to be] incurr'd for the common Welfare, shall be defray'd out of a common Treasury, which is to be supply'd by each Colony in proportion to its Number of Male Polls between 16 and 60 Years of Age; the Taxes for paying that Proportion [are] to be laid and levied by [the] Laws of each Colony.

ART. VII.

The Number of Delegates to be elected and sent to the Congress by each Colony shall be regulated, from time to time, by the Number of [such] Polls return'd; so as that one Delegate be allowed for every 5000 Polls. And the Delegates are to bring with them to every Congress an authenticated return of the number of Polls in their respective Provinces, [which is] to be triennially / annually taken for the Purposes above mentioned.

ART. VIII.

At every Meeting of the Congress, one half of the Members return'd, exclusive of Proxies, be necessary to make a Quorum; and each Delegate at the Congress shall have a Vote in all Cases, and, if necessarily absent, shall be allow'd to appoint [any other Delegate from the same Colony to be his] Proxy, who may vote for him.

ART. IX.

An executive Council shall be appointed by the Congress [out of their own Body,] consisting of 12 Persons; of whom, in the first appointment, [one third, viz.] (four,) shall be for one Year, (four) for two Years, and (four) for three Years; and as the said terms expire, the Vacancies shall be filled by appointments for three Years; whereby one Third of the Members will be changed annually. And each Person who has served the said Term [of three Years] as Counsellor, shall have a Respite of three Years, before he can be elected again. This Council, [of whom two thirds shall be a Quorum] in the Recess of Congress, is to execute what shall have been enjoin'd thereby; [to] manage the general [Continental] Business and Interests; to receive applications from foreign Countries; [to] prepare Matters for the Consideration of the Congress; to fill up, [*pro tempore,*] [continental] offices, that fall vacant; and to draw on the General Treasurer for such Monies as may be necessary for general Services, and appropriated by the Congress to such Services.

ART. X.

No Colony shall engage in an offensive War with any Nation of Indians without the Consent of the Congress, or great

Council above mentioned, who are first to consider the Justice and Necessity of such War.

ART. XI.

A perpetual Alliance, offensive and defensive, is to be entred into as soon as may be with the Six Nations; their Limits to be ascertain'd and secur'd to them; their Land not to be encroach'd on, nor any private [or Colony] Purchases made of them hereafter to be held good; nor any [Contract for Lands] to be made, but between the Great Council [of the Indians] at Onondaga and the General Congress. The Boundaries and Lands of all the other Indians shall also be [ascertain'd and] secur'd to them [in the same manner,] and Persons appointed to reside among them in proper Districts; who shall take care to prevent Injustice in the Trade with them; [and be enabled at our general Expence,] by occasional small supplies, to relieve their personal Wants and Distresses. And all Purchases from them shall be by the Congress, for the General Advantage and Benefit of the United Colonies.

ART. XII.

As all new Institutions may have Imperfections, which only Time and Experience can discover, it is agreed, that the General Congress, from time [to time,] shall propose such amendments of the Constitution as may be found necessary; which, being approv'd by a Majority of the Colony Assemblies, shall be equally binding with the rest of the Articles of this Confederation.

ART. XIII.

Any and every Colony from Great Britain [upon the continent of North America,] not at present engag'd in our Asso-

ciation, may, upon application [and joining the said Association,] be receiv'd into the Confederation, viz. [Ireland,] the West India Islands, Quebec, St. John's, Nova Scotia, Bermudas, and the East and West Floridas; and shall [thereupon] be entitled to all the advantages of our Union, mutual Assistance, and Commerce.

These Articles shall be propos'd to the several Provincial Conventions or Assemblies, to be by them consider'd; and if approved, they are advis'd to impower their Delegates to agree to and ratify the same in the ensuing Congress. After which the Union thereby establish'd is to continue firm, till the Terms of Reconciliation proposed in the Petition of the last Congress to the King are agreed to; till the Acts since made, restraining the American Commerce [and Fisheries,] are repeal'd; till Reparation is made for the Injury done to Boston, by shutting up its Port, for the Burning of Charlestown, and for the Expence of this unjust War; and till all the British Troops are withdrawn from America. On the Arrival of these Events, the Colonies return to their former Connection and Friendship with Britain: But on Failure thereof, this Confederation is to be perpetual.

READ BEFORE CONGRESS JULY 21, 1775.

Whereas.[1] It hath pleased God to bless these countries with a most plentiful harvest, whereby much corn

[1] The Resolutions which follow were printed by Mr. Bigelow ("The Complete Works of Benjamin Franklin," Vol. V, p. 554) from the original Ms. in D. S. W. They had been earlier printed in the Archives of New Jersey, Vol. X, p. 691. The use of brackets, etc., in the following text is thus explained by Mr. Worthington C. Ford. "As I find some differences between the articles as printed in the New Jersey Archives, I have taken the original on the enclosed sheets, giving the parts erased, and also distinguishing the carets or interlinear words thus [ ]. The 'free-trade' resolutions were

and other provisions can be spared to foreign nations who may want the same, Resolved, That [after the expiration of Six Months] from (*and after*)[1] the [20th of July Instant,] (*being one full year after*)[1] [being] the Day appointed by a late Act of the Parliament of Great Britain, for restraining the Trade of the Confederate Colonies, all Custom-Houses [therein] (if the Act be not first rescinded) shall be shut up, and all officers of the same discharged from the Execution of their several Functions, and all the Ports of the said Colonies are hereby declared to be thenceforth open to the Ships of every State in Europe that will admit of our Commerce and protect it; who may [*turn off*] and expose to sale free of all Duties their respective Produce and Manufactures, and every kind of Merchandize, excepting Teas, and the Merchandize of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British West India Islands.

Resolved, That we will to the utmost of our Power, maintain and support this Freedom of Commerce for [two] years certain after its Commencement, any reconciliation between us and Britain notwithstanding; and as much longer beyond that term, as the late Acts of Parliament for restoring the Restraining the Commerce and fisheries, and altering the Laws and Charters of any of the Colonies, shall continue unrepealed.

ENDORSED—No 2. (*Articles of Confederation*) A proposal for opening the ports of N. A. bro[t] in by committee—read July 21, 1775—on motion postponed for future consideration.

brought in on the same day as the articles, are written on the same paper, and all in B. F.'s Ms. I am quite sure they originally formed a part of the articles (although not numbered and placed in a different volume in the records of the Continental Congress). They were even endorsed 'Articles of Confederation,' though a pen was afterwards run through the endorsement." — ED.

[1] The words in italics show the erasures in the original Ms. — B.

786. TO PETER V. B. LIVINGSTON[1]

Perth Amboy, August 29, 1775.

SIR,

The Committee of Safety acquainted you by a letter, dated the 26th instant, that we had ordered a ton of gunpowder to be sent to you, agreeably to your request. It left Philadelphia early on Sunday morning, and yesterday I overtook the waggon on the road at Trenton, and left it proceeding on the journey. But, being informed this morning at Brunswick, that four waggon loads of powder had passed through that place on Friday evening for your city, and supposing it to be the powder, which you mentioned as having been expected, but not arrived, which occasioned your sending to us, and, as we have still too little at Philadelphia, I thought it best to stop that powder, and send it back again, and wrote accordingly to the waggoner by a person just setting out for Trenton. I write this, therefore, that you may not expect it at New York in consequence of our letter. With great respect and esteem, I am, &c. B. FRANKLIN

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787. TO ROBERT MORRIS[2] (P. C.)

Brunswick, Augt 29, 1775

DEAR SIR,

Understanding Since I came hither that 4 Waggon Loads of Gunpowder for New York, which had been landed at the

[1] Chairman of the Committee of Safety in New York. Dr. Franklin was chairman of a similar committee in Philadelphia. When this letter was written, he was on a visit to his son, the governor of New Jersey, who then resided at Perth Amboy. — S. This letter was first published by Sparks. — ED.

[2] From the private collection of Mr. Simon Gratz. — ED.

Neversinks, pass'd thro' here last Friday, I have dispatch'd an Order to our Waggoner, whom I pass'd yesterday at Trenton, to return back with the Ton we spar'd, since it will not be wanted at New York, and may be wanted with us. I hope our Committee will approve of this. If not I ought to pay the Expence. With great Esteem, I am Sir,

Your most obed^{t} Servt

B. FRANKLIN

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788. TO JONATHAN WILLIAMS[1] (P. C.)

Philad^{a} Sept. 12. 1775

DEAR JONATHAN

I this Day receiv'd yours per Capt. Falconer and am vastly oblig'd by your Industry in Packing and Dispatching my Things. Their Arrival makes me very happy; tho' they are not yet come on Shore. I have not before written to you imagining you would hardly be found there: but now I find by Mr. Alex^{rs} Letter (to whom my best Respects) that he advises you to stay for the Chance of something turning up to your Advantage.

I have lately heard from your Father. He has made a temporary exchange of Houses and Furniture with a Mr. Putnam of Worcester, who now resides at your House in Boston, and your Family at his House in Worcester where they were all well about two Weeks since. My Sister is at Warwick with Mrs. Greene. She left her House lock'd up with the Furniture in it but knows not whether she shall ever see it again. I like your Conduct with respect to the Jersey Petition. The first Copy had indeed been presented before

[1] From the original in the possession of Mr. Louis A. Biddle.

by Mr. Lee but that you could not know. If you determine to stay in England I shall do what I can to throw Business in your Way. But whether America is ever again to have any Connection with Britain either Commercial or Political is at present uncertain. All depends upon that Nation's coming to its Senses. Here we are preparing and determining to run all Risques rather than comply with her mad Demands.

Mr. Ferguson who will deliver this is a Gentleman of amiable Character in this Country, who visits England on some Business of his own. If you can do him any Service you will oblige me by it. I recommend him warmly to your Civilities, and likewise Mr. Stockton who goes over with him intending to study Law in the Temple.

I desire to be affectionately and respectfully remembered to Mrs. Hewson, Miss Dolly Blunt, Mrs. Falconer, Mrs. Barwell, and all our other Female Friends. I am hurried, and can now only add that I am ever

Your affectionate Friend and Uncle

B. FRANKLIN.

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789. TO JOSEPH PRIESTLEY (L. C.)

Philadelphia, Octob. 3, 1775.

DEAR SIR,

I am to set out to-morrow for the camp, and, having but just heard of this opportunity, can only write a line to say that I am well, and hearty.[1] Tell our dear good friend, [Dr.

[1] On the 30th of September, Congress appointed Dr. Franklin, Mr. Lynch, and Mr. Harrison, as a committee to confer with General Washington, concerning the best mode of supporting and regulating the Continental army. The committee proceeded to the camp at Cambridge, and the conference was held on the 18th of October.—S.

Price,] who sometimes has his doubts and despondencies about our firmness, that America is determined and unanimous; a very few Tories and placemen excepted, who will probably soon export themselves. Britain, at the expense of three millions, has killed one hundred and fifty Yankees this campaign, which is twenty thousand pounds a head; and at Bunker's Hill she gained a mile of ground, half of which she lost again by our taking post on Ploughed Hill. During the same time sixty thousand children have been born in America. From these *data* his mathematical head will easily calculate the time and expense necessary to kill us all, and conquer our whole territory. My sincere respects to ——, and to the club of honest whigs at ——.[1] Adieu. I am ever yours most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

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790. TO A FRIEND IN ENGLAND[2] (L. C.)

Philadelphia, Oct. 3, 1775.

DEAR SIR,

I wish as ardently as you can do for peace, and should rejoice exceedingly in coöperating with you to that end. But every ship from Britain brings some intelligence of new measures that tend more and more to exasperate; and it seems to me, that until you have found by dear experience the

[1] The London Coffee House. — ED.

[2] This letter was first printed in Mr. Vaughan's edition, but without the name of the person to whom it was written; and it has never since been made public. Probably it was David Hartley. — S. It is here printed from the printed copy in L. C. — ED.

reducing us by force impracticable, you will think of nothing fair and reasonable.

We have as yet resolved only on defensive measures. If you would recall your forces and stay at home, we should meditate nothing to injure you. A little time so given for cooling on both sides would have excellent effects. But you will goad and provoke us. You despise us too much; and you are insensible of the Italian adage, that there is no *little enemy*. I am persuaded that the body of the British people are our friends; but they are changeable, and by your lying Gazettes may soon be made our enemies. Our respect for them will proportionably diminish, and I see clearly we are on the high road to mutual Enmity hatred and detestation. A separation of course will be inevitable. 'Tis a million of pities so fair a plan as we have hitherto been engaged in, for increasing strength and empire with *public felicity*, should be destroyed by the mangling hands of a few blundering ministers. It will not be destroyed; God will protect and prosper it, you will only exclude yourselves from any share in it. We hear, that more ships and troops are coming out. ' We know, that you may do us a great deal of mischief, and are determined to bear it patiently as long as we can. But, if you flatter yourselves with beating us into submission, you know neither the people nor the country. The Congress are still sitting, and will wait the result of their *last* petition.

Yours, &c. B. FRANKLIN.

791. TO CHARLES W. F. DUMAS[1]

Philadelphia, December 9, 1775.

DEAR SIR,

I received your several Favours, of May 18th, June 30, and July 8, by Messrs. Vaillant and Pochard, whom, if I could serve upon your recommendation, it would give me great pleasure. Their total want of English is at present an obstruction to their getting any employment among us; but I hope they will soon obtain some knowledge of it. This is a good country for artificers or farmers; but gentlemen of mere science in *les belles lettres* cannot so easily subsist here, there being little demand for their assistance among an industrious people, who, as yet, have not much leisure for studies of that kind.

I am much obliged by the kind present you have made us of your edition of Vattel. It came to us in good season, when the circumstances of a rising state make it necessary frequently to consult the law of nations. Accordingly, that copy which I kept, (after depositing one in our own public library here, and sending the other to the College of Massachusetts Bay, as you directed,) has been continually in the hands of the members of our Congress, now sitting, who are much pleased with your notes and preface, and have entertained a high and just esteem for their author. Your manuscript, "*Idée sur le Gouvernement et la Royauté*" is also well relished, and may, in time, have its effect. I thank you, likewise, for the other smaller pieces, which accompanied Vattel. "*Le court Exposé de ce qui est passé entre la Cour Britanique et*

[1] This letter appeared in *Port Folio*, July 31, 1802. — ED.

les Colonies," &c. being a very concise and clear statement of facts, will be reprinted here for the use of our new friends in Canada. The translations of the proceedings of our Congress are very acceptable. I send you herewith what of them has been further published here, together with a few newspapers, containing accounts of some of the successes Providence has favoured us with. We are threatened from England with a very powerful force, to come next year against us. We are making all the provision in our power here to prevent that force, and we hope we shall be able to defend ourselves. But as the events of war are always uncertain, possibly, after another campaign, we may find it necessary to ask the aid of some foreign power.

It gives us great pleasure to learn from you, that *toute l'Europe nous souhaite le plus heureux succès pour le maintien de nos libertés*. But we wish to know, whether any one of them, from principles of humanity, is disposed magnanimously to step in for the relief of an oppressed people; or whether, if, as it seems likely to happen, we should be obliged to break off all connexion with Britain, and declare ourselves an independent people, there is any state or power in Europe, who would be willing to enter into an alliance with us for the benefit of our commerce, which amounted, before the war, to near seven millions sterling per annum, and must continually increase, as our people increase most rapidly. Confiding, my dear friend, in your good will to us and our cause, and in your sagacity and abilities for business, the committee of Congress, appointed for the purpose of establishing and conducting a correspondence with our friends in Europe, of which committee I have the honour to be a member, have directed me to request of you, that, as you are situated at the

Hague, where ambassadors from all the courts reside, you would make use of the opportunity that situation affords you, of discovering, if possible, the disposition of the several courts with respect to such assistance or alliance, if we should apply for the one, or propose the other. As it may possibly be necessary, in particular instances, that you should, for this purpose, confer directly with some great ministers, and show them this letter as your credential, we only recommend it to your discretion, that you proceed therein with such caution, as to keep the same from the knowledge of the English ambassador, and prevent any public appearance, at present, of your being employed in any such business; as thereby we imagine many inconveniences may be avoided, and your means of rendering us service increased.

That you may be better able to answer some questions, which will probably be put to you, concerning our present situation, we inform you, that the whole continent is very firmly united, the party for the measures of the British ministry being very small, and much dispersed; that we have had on foot, the last campaign, an army of near twenty-five thousand men, wherewith we have been able, not only to block up the King's army in Boston, but to spare considerable detachments for the invasion of Canada, where we have met with great success, as the printed papers sent herewith will inform you, and have now reason to expect that whole province may be soon in our possession; that we purpose greatly to increase our force for the ensuing year, and thereby we hope, with the assistance of a well disciplined militia, to be able to defend our coast, notwithstanding its great extent; that we have already a small squadron of armed vessels to protect our coasting trade, which have had some success

in taking several of the enemy's cruisers, and some of their transport vessels and store ships. This little naval force we are about to augment, and expect it may be more considerable in the next summer.

We have hitherto applied to no foreign power. We are using the utmost industry in endeavouring to make saltpetre, Our artificers are also everywhere busy in fabricating small arms, casting cannon, &c.; yet both arms and ammunition are much wanted. Any merchants, who would venture to send ships laden with those articles, might make great profit; such is the demand in every colony, and such generous prices are and will be given; of which, and of the manner of conducting such a voyage, the bearer, Mr. Story, can more fully inform you; and whoever brings in those articles is allowed to carry off the value in provisions, to our West Indies, where they will fetch a very high price, the general exportation from North America being stopped. This you will see more particularly in a printed resolution of the Congress.

We are in great want of good engineers, and wish you could engage and send us two able ones, in time for the next campaign, one acquainted with field service, sieges, &c., and the other with fortifying seaports. They will, if well recommended, be made very welcome, and have honourable appointments, besides the expenses of their voyage hither, in which Mr. Story can also advise them. As what we now request of you, besides taking up your time, may put you to some expense, we send you for the present, enclosed, a bill for one hundred pounds sterling, to defray such expenses, and desire you to be assured that your services will be considered, and honourably rewarded, by the Congress.

We desire, also, that you would take the trouble of receiv-

ing from Arthur Lee, agent for the Congress in England, such letters as may be sent by him to your care, and of forwarding them to us with your despatches. When you have occasion to write to him to inform him of any thing, which it may be of importance that our friends there should be acquainted with, please to send your letters to him, under cover, directed to Mr. Alderman Lee, merchant, on Tower Hill, London; and do not send it by post, but by some trusty shipper, or other prudent person, who will deliver it with his own hand. And when you send to us, if you have not a direct safe opportunity, we recommend sending by way of St. Eustatia, to the care of Messrs. Robert and Cornelius Stevens, merchants there, who will forward your despatches to me. With sincere and great esteem and respect, I am, Sir, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

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792. TO HIS MOST SERENE HIGHNESS, DON GABRIEL, OF BOURBON (L. C.)

Philadelphia, Decr 12, 1775

ILLUSTRIOUS PRINCE,

I have just received, thro' the Hands of the Embassador of Spain, the much esteemed present your most Serene Highness hath so kindly sent me, of your excellent version of Salust.[1]

I am extreamly sensible of this Honour done me, and beg you would accept my thankful Acknowledgments. I wish

[1] The famous Latin and Spanish edition of Sallust, printed in 1772, by Ibarra, at the Royal Press in Madrid. This edition, which is an imperial quarto, is considered by bibliographers as a masterpiece of typography. Dibden remarks, that it "is very rare, as the Prince, Don Gabriel, reserved all the copies for presents."—S.

I could send from hence any American literary Production worthy of your Perusal; but as yet the Muses have scarcely visited these remote Regions. Perhaps, however, the late Proceedings of our American Congress, just published, may be a subject of some Curiosity at your Court. I therefore take the Liberty of sending your Highness a Copy, with some other Papers, which contain Accounts of the successes wherewith Providence has lately favoured us. Therein your wise Politicians may contemplate the first Efforts of a rising State, which seems likely soon to act a Part of some Importance on the Stage of Human Affairs, and furnish materials for a future Salust. I am very old, and can scarcely hope to see the event of this great Contest; but, looking forward, I think I see a powerful Dominion growing up here, whose Interest it will be, to form a close and firm Alliance with Spain, (their Territories bordering,) and who, being united, will be able, not only to preserve their own people in Peace, but to repel the force of all the other Powers in Europe. It seems, therefore, prudent on both sides to cultivate a good Understanding, that may hereafter be so useful to both; towards which a fair Foundation is already laid in our minds, by the well founded Popular Opinion entertained here of Spanish Integrity and Honour. I hope my Presumption in hinting this will be pardoned. If in any thing on this side the globe I can render either service or pleasure to your Royal Highness, your Commands will make me happy. With the utmost Esteem and Veneration, I have the Honour to be your Serene Highness's most obedient and most humble Servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

1st. Because a man may shoot as truly with a bow as with a common musket.

2dly. He can discharge four arrows in the time of charging and discharging one bullet.

3dly. His object is not taken from his view by the smoke of his own side.

4thly. A flight of arrows, seen coming upon them, terrifies and disturbs the enemies' attention to their business.

5thly. An arrow striking in any part of a man puts him *hors du combat* till it is extracted.

6thly. Bows and arrows are more easily provided everywhere than muskets and ammunition.

Polydore Virgil, speaking of one of our battles against the French in Edward the Third's reign, mentions the great confusion the enemy was thrown into, *sagittarum nube*, from the English; and concludes, *Est res profecto dictu mirabilis, ut tantus ac potens exercitus a solis fere Anglicis sagittariis victus fuerit; adeo Anglus est sagittipotens, et id genus armorum valet.* If so much execution was done by arrows when men wore some defensive armour, how much more might be done now that it is out of use.

I am glad you are come to New York, but I also wish you could be in Canada. There is a kind of suspense in men's minds here at present, waiting to see what terms will be offered from England. I expect none that we can accept; and, when that is generally seen, we shall be more unanimous and more decisive. Then your proposed solemn league and covenant will go better down, and perhaps most of your other strong measures will be adopted. I am always glad to hear from you, but I do not deserve your favours, being so bad a correspondent. My eyes will now hardly serve me to write

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Dear Sir,

[illegible]

The bearer, Mr. [illegible] to you, which I [illegible] as I [illegible]ments are not very different from yours. He is the reputed, and, I think, the real author of *Common Sense*, a pamphlet that has made great impression here. I do not enlarge, both because he waits, and because I hope for the pleasure of conferring with you face to face in Canada. I will only add, that we are assured here on the part of France, that the troops sent to the West Indies have no inimical views to us or our cause. It is thought they intend a war without a previous declaration. God prosper all your undertakings, and return you with health, honour and happiness. Yours most affectionately,

B. Franklin.

[1] Sparks was the first editor to publish this letter.—Ed.

795. FROM DAVID HARTLEY TO B. FRANKLIN [1]

(A. P. S.)

Lond, Feb. 24, 1776

DEAR SIR,

It is so long since I have had the pleasure of hearing from you, that I fear the administration has but too effectually stopt the channel of Communication between this Country and its Colonies. I have allways dreaded this event as fatal & final to the prospect of national reconciliation. When in any contention the parties are not only studiously kept asunder, but mischief-making go-betweens exert every art, and practise every fraud, to inflame jealousies, animosities and resentments between them, it is but too obvious to fear that your own prophetic words sh'd be accomplished, that instead of that cordial affection, that once and so long existed, & that harmony so suitable to the happiness, safety, strength and wellfare of both countries, an implacable malice and mutual hatred such as we see subsisting between the Spaniards and Portuguese, the Genoese and Corsicans, sh'd fatally take root between the parent state and its Colonies.

These fears are not abated by the Consideration of the incessant injuries wch have been, and wch continue to be heapt upon our unhappy fellow subjects in America. These injuries are indeed brought upon them by the administration, who usurp the personality and authority, which they pretend to derive from the people, but from the distance between us and our American brethren, and the false evidence transmitted from one to the other by a treacherous Administration, I greatly fear that national resentments will become indiscriminate. It is inseparable from human nature, that the mind, under any grievous suffering, especially injury, will be distracted and broken from its nearest and most affectionate connexions, wch may happen to be but accidentally and collaterally involved. The affection of States to each other consists of the combination of personal affections, parentage and intercourse. When blood is shed, and the parent weeps for his son, the widow for her husband, brother for brother, an inextinguishable resentment arises, the appeal

[1] The original of this letter is in the handwriting of David Hartley, but signed "G. B," a signature which Mr. Hartley affixed to many of his letters to Dr. Franklin, written during the Revolution. Mr. Hartley was a member of Parliament, and opposed to the ministerial measures in regard to America. He made several attempts, at the beginning of the troubles, to effect a reconciliation between the two countries; and was not less active afterwards in endeavouring to procure a peace. He was likewise unwearied in his benevolent exertions for the relief of the American prisoners in England during the war. — S.

Hague, where ambassadors from all the courts reside, you would make use of the opportunity that situation affords you, of discovering, if possible, the disposition of the several courts with respect to such assistance or alliance, if we should apply for the one, or propose the other. As it may possibly be necessary, in particular instances, that you should, for this purpose, confer directly with some great ministers, and show them this letter as your credential, we only recommend it to your discretion, that you proceed therein with such caution, as to keep the same from the knowledge of the English ambassador, and prevent any public appearance, at present, of your being employed in any such business; as thereby we imagine many inconveniences may be avoided, and your means of rendering us service increased.

That you may be better able to answer some questions, which will probably be put to you, concerning our present situation, we inform you, that the whole continent is very firmly united, the party for the measures of the British ministry being very small, and much dispersed; that we have had on foot, the last campaign, an army of near twenty-five thousand men, wherewith we have been able, not only to block up the King's army in Boston, but to spare considerable detachments for the invasion of Canada, where we have met with great success, as the printed papers sent herewith will inform you, and have now reason to expect that whole province may be soon in our possession; that we purpose greatly to increase our force for the ensuing year, and thereby we hope, with the assistance of a well disciplined militia, to be able to defend our coast, notwithstanding its great extent; that we have already a small squadron of armed vessels to protect our coasting trade, which have had some success

in taking several of the enemy's cruisers, and some of their transport vessels and store ships. This little naval force we are about to augment, and expect it may be more considerable in the next summer.

We have hitherto applied to no foreign power. We are using the utmost industry in endeavouring to make saltpetre, Our artificers are also everywhere busy in fabricating small arms, casting cannon, &c.; yet both arms and ammunition are much wanted. Any merchants, who would venture to send ships laden with those articles, might make great profit; such is the demand in every colony, and such generous prices are and will be given; of which, and of the manner of conducting such a voyage, the bearer, Mr. Story, can more fully inform you; and whoever brings in those articles is allowed to carry off the value in provisions, to our West Indies, where they will fetch a very high price, the general exportation from North America being stopped. This you will see more particularly in a printed resolution of the Congress.

We are in great want of good engineers, and wish you could engage and send us two able ones, in time for the next campaign, one acquainted with field service, sieges, &c., and the other with fortifying seaports. They will, if well recommended, be made very welcome, and have honourable appointments, besides the expenses of their voyage hither, in which Mr. Story can also advise them. As what we now request of you, besides taking up your time, may put you to some expense, we send you for the present, enclosed, a bill for one hundred pounds sterling, to defray such expenses, and desire you to be assured that your services will be considered, and honourably rewarded, by the Congress.

We desire, also, that you would take the trouble of receiv-

[redacted]

I could send from hence any American literary Production worthy of your Perusal; but as yet the Muses have scarcely visited these remote Regions. Perhaps, however, the late Proceedings of our American Congress, just published, may be a subject of some Curiosity at your Court. I therefore take the Liberty of sending your Highness a Copy, with some other Papers, which contain Accounts of the successes wherewith Providence has lately favoured us. Therein your wise Politicians may contemplate the first Efforts of a rising State, which seems likely soon to act a Part of some Importance on the Stage of Human Affairs, and furnish materials for a future Salust. I am very old, and can scarcely hope to see the event of this great Contest; but, looking forward, I think I see a powerful Dominion growing up here, whose Interest it will be, to form a close and firm Alliance with Spain, (their Territories bordering,) and who, being united, will be able, not only to preserve their own people in Peace, but to repel the force of all the other Powers in Europe. It seems, therefore, prudent on both sides to cultivate a good Understanding, that may hereafter be so useful to both; towards which a fair Foundation is already laid in our minds, by the well founded Popular Opinion entertained here of Spanish Integrity and Honour. I hope my Presumption in hinting this will be pardoned. If in any thing on this side the globe I can render either service or pleasure to your Royal Highness, your Commands will make me happy. With the utmost Esteem and Veneration, I have the Honour to be your Serene Highness's most obedient and most humble Servant,

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I am glad you are come to New York, but I also wish you could be in Canada. There is a kind of suspense in men's minds here at present, waiting to see what terms will be offered from England. I expect none that we can accept; and, when that is generally seen, we shall be more unanimous and more decisive. Then your proposed solemn league and covenant will go better down, and perhaps most of your other strong measures will be adopted. I am always glad to hear from you, but I do not deserve your favours, being so bad a correspondent. My eyes will now hardly serve me to write

by night, and these short days have been all taken up by such a variety of business, that I seldom can sit down ten minutes without interruption. God give you success. I am, with the greatest esteem, &c. B. FRANKLIN.

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794. TO CHARLES LEE[1]

Philadelphia, Feb. 19, 1776.

DEAR SIR,

I rejoice that you are going to Canada. I hope the gout will not have the courage to follow you into that severe climate. I believe you will have the number of men you wish for. I am told there will be two thousand more, but there are always deficiencies.

The bearer, Mr. Paine, has requested a line of introduction to you, which I give the more willingly, as I know his sentiments are not very different from yours. He is the reputed, and, I think, the real author of *Common Sense*, a pamphlet that has made great impression here. I do not enlarge, both because he waits, and because I hope for the pleasure of conferring with you face to face in Canada. I will only add, that we are assured here on the part of France, that the troops sent to the West Indies have no inimical views to us or our cause. It is thought they intend a war without a previous declaration. God prosper all your undertakings, and return you with health, honour and happiness. Yours most affectionately, B. FRANKLIN.

[1] Sparks was the first editor to publish this letter. — ED.

795. FROM DAVID HARTLEY TO B. FRANKLIN [1]

(A. P. S.)

Lond, Feb. 24, 1776

DEAR SIR,

It is so long since I have had the pleasure of hearing from you, that I fear the administration has but too effectually stopt the channel of Communication between this Country and its Colonies. I have allways dreaded this event as fatal & final to the prospect of national reconciliation. When in any contention the parties are not only studiously kept asunder, but mischief-making go-betweens exert every art, and practise every fraud, to inflame jealousies, animosities and resentments between them, it is but too obvious to fear that your own prophetic words sh'd be accomplished, that instead of that cordial affection, that once and so long existed, & that harmony so suitable to the happiness, safety, strength and wellfare of both countries, an implacable malice and mutual hatred such as we see subsisting between the Spaniards and Portuguese, the Genoese and Corsicans, sh'd fatally take root between the parent state and its Colonies.

These fears are not abated by the Consideration of the incessant injuries wch have been, and wch continue to be heapt upon our unhappy fellow subjects in America. These injuries are indeed brought upon them by the administration, who usurp the personality and authority, which they pretend to derive from the people, but from the distance between us and our American brethren, and the false evidence transmitted from one to the other by a treacherous Administration, I greatly fear that national resentments will become indiscriminate. It is inseparable from human nature, that the mind, under any grievous suffering, especially injury, will be distracted and broken from its nearest and most affectionate connexions, wch may happen to be but accidentally and collaterally involved. The affection of States to each other consists of the combination of personal affections, parentage and intercourse. When blood is shed, and the parent weeps for his son, the widow for her husband, brother for brother, an inextinguishable resentment arises, the appeal

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Hague, where ambassadors from all the courts reside, you would make use of the opportunity that situation affords you, of discovering, if possible, the disposition of the several courts with respect to such assistance or alliance, if we should apply for the one, or propose the other. As it may possibly be necessary, in particular instances, that you should, for this purpose, confer directly with some great ministers, and show them this letter as your credential, we only recommend it to your discretion, that you proceed therein with such caution, as to keep the same from the knowledge of the English ambassador, and prevent any public appearance, at present, of your being employed in any such business; as thereby we imagine many inconveniences may be avoided, and your means of rendering us service increased.

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to acts of ~~inreconciliation~~ they will endeavour to raise that implacable disposition on this side of ~~the water, upon~~ the false suggestion of wch they are now endeavouring to urge you on. We who ~~are friends to both countries wish to~~ prevent such fatal jealousies and misunderstandings.

Many of your best friends in England regret the Congress has not made some specific and definite proposition, upon wch the sense of the people of England might have been consulted. A people at large cannot enter into historical details, especially when facts are so studiously confounded and misrepresented, but still they c^d^ judge of a simple proposition if any such had been made. I think it w^d^ have been the most likely method to have captivated the good will of the nation. While the propositions of the Congress are generall and indefinite, the Ministry treat them as general words meaning little or nothing in fact. But I think, the further prosecution of hostile measures c'd not be supported by the ministry, if they were to refuse any definite and equitable offer of accommodation made on the part of America. If it be possible, let the two countries be once more reunited in affection. It is not simply peace that we ought to strive for, but reconciliation wch is more than peace. We may have peace with foreign states, but it must be reconciliation alone that can reunite us as one people. However forlorn the prospect may be, let not the common friends slacken their endeavours. Constancy is our only hope. All is lost if we despair. I am dear Sir with the greatest regard and esteem, very affectionately yours,

G. B.

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796. TO PHILIP SCHUYLER [1]

Philadelphia, March 11, 1776.

SIR,

The Congress have appointed three Commissioners to go to Canada, of which number I have the honour to be one.[2] We

[1] First published by Sparks. General Schuyler had at this time the command of the northern department and of the army operating in Canada. — ED.

[2] The other commissioners were Samuel Chase and Charles Carroll. They were appointed on the 15th of February. To these were joined the Reverend John Carroll, a Catholic clergyman, afterwards Archbishop of Baltimore. He was not officially one of the Commissioners, but was requested to accompany them, it being supposed, that, from his religious sentiments, character, and knowledge of the French language, his presence and councils might be useful in promoting the objects of the mission with the Canadians. An American army was at that time in Canada, under the command of General Wooster, who was shortly after succeeded by General Thomas. — S.

purpose setting out some day this week. I take the liberty of mentioning this, as, possibly, a little previous notice may enable you more easily to make any preparation you shall judge necessary to facilitate and expedite our journey, which, I am sure, you will be kindly disposed to do for us. A friend with us will make our company four, besides our servants. We shall either go in carriages directly to Albany, or by water, if the river is open, from New York. Hoping soon for the pleasure of seeing you, I now only add, that I am, with the sincerest respect and esteem, Sir, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. The bearer, M. La Jeunesse, has been considered by the Congress as a friend to the American cause, and he is recommended to your protection on his return to Canada.

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797. TO LORD STIRLING[1]

Brunswic, March 27, 1776.

MY DEAR LORD,

I received your obliging letter some days since at Philadelphia; but, our departure from thence being uncertain, I could not till now acquaint your Lordship when we expected to be at New York. We move but slowly, and I think we shall scarce reach Newark before to-morrow, so that we cannot have the pleasure of seeing you before Friday. Being myself, from long absence, as much a stranger in New York

[1] William Alexander (1776–1783), called "Lord Stirling" (he claimed to be the sixth earl of Stirling), became a brigadier-general in the American army, and was stationed at New York, where, for a short time, he had the chief command after the departure of General Lee. The letter was first printed by Sparks. — ED.

as the other gentlemen, we join in requesting you would be so good as to cause lodgings to be provided for us, and a sloop engaged to carry us to Albany. There are five of us, and we propose staying in New York two nights at least. With great and sincere esteem and respect, I have the honour to be, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

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798. TO JOSIAH QUINCY[1]

Saratoga, April 15, 1776.

DEAR SIR,

I am here on my way to Canada, detained by the present state of the Lakes, in which the unthawed ice obstructs navigation. I begin to apprehend that I have undertaken a fatigue, that, at my time of life, may prove too much for me; so I sit down to write to a few friends by way of farewell.

I congratulate you on the departure of your late troublesome neighbours. I hope your country will now for some time have rest, and that care will be taken so to fortify Boston, as that no force shall be able again to get footing there. Your very kind letter of November 13th, enclosing Lord Chatham's and Lord Camden's speeches, I duly received. I think no one can be more sensible than I am of the favours of corresponding friends, but I find it impossible to answer as I ought. At present I think you will deem me inexcusable, and therefore I will not attempt an apology. But if you should ever happen to be at the same time oppressed with years and business, you may then extenuate a little for your old friend.

[1] Sparks was the first editor to publish this letter. — ED.

The notes of the speeches taken by your son, whose loss I shall ever deplore with you, are exceedingly valuable, as being by much the best account preserved of that day's debate.[1]

You ask, "When is the Continental Congress by *general consent* to be formed into a supreme legislature; alliances, defensive and offensive, formed; our ports opened; and a formidable naval force established at the public charge?" I can only answer at present, that nothing seems wanting but that "general consent." The novelty of the thing deters some, the doubt of success, others, the vain hope of reconciliation, many. But our enemies take continually every proper measure to remove these obstacles, and their endeavours are attended with success, since every day furnishes us with new causes of increasing enmity, and new reasons for wishing an eternal separation; so that there is a rapid increase of the formerly small party, who were for an independent government.

Your epigram on Lord Chatham's remark has amply repaid me for the song. Accept my thanks for it, and for the charming extract of a lady's letter, contained in your favour of January 22d. I thought, when I sat down, to have written by this opportunity to Dr. Cooper, Mr. Bowdoin, and Dr. Winthrop, but I am interrupted. Be so good as to present my affectionate respects to them, and to your family. Adieu, my dear friend, and believe me ever yours most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

[1] Notes of Speeches made by Lord Chatham, Lord Camden, and others, in the British House of Lords, January 20th, 1775. See "Life of Josiah Quincy, Junior," pp. 318, 335. — S.

799. TO PHILIP SCHUYLER [1]

New York, May 27, 1776.

DEAR GENERAL,

We arrived here safe yesterday evening, in your post-chaise driven by Lewis. I was unwilling to give so much trouble, and would have borrowed your sulky, and driven myself; but good Mrs. Schuyler insisted on a full compliance with your pleasure, as signified in your letter, and I was obliged to submit, which I was afterwards very glad of, part of the road being very stony and much gullied, where I should, probably, have overset and broken my own bones, all the skill and dexterity of Lewis being no more than sufficient. Through the influence of your kind recommendation to the innkeepers on the road, we found a great readiness to supply us with a change of horses. Accept our thankful acknowledgements; they are all we can at present make.

We congratulate you on the very valuable prize made at Boston. They threaten us with a mighty force from England and Germany. I trust that, before the end of the campaign, its inefficacy will be apparent to all the world, our enemies become sick of their projects, and the freedom of America be established on the surest foundation, its own ability to defend it. May God bless, and preserve you, for all our sakes as well as for that of your dear family. Mr. Carroll joins me in every hearty wish for prosperity and felicity to you and yours. With the highest esteem and respect, I am, dear Sir, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

[1] First printed by Sparks. Philip John Schuyler (1733–1804) organized in 1776 an army for the invasion of Canada. — ED.

800. TO THE COMMISSIONERS IN CANADA [1] (L. L.)

New York, May 27, 1776.

DEAR FRIENDS,

We arrived here safe yesterday Evening, having left Mrs. Walker with her Husband at Albany, from whence we came down by Land. We pass'd him on Lake Champlain; but he returning overtook us at Saratoga, where they both took such Liberties, in taunting at our Conduct in Canada, that it came almost to a Quarrel. We continu'd our Care of her, however, and landed her safe in Albany with her three Wagon Loads of baggage, brought thither without putting her to any Expence, and parted civilly, though coldly. I think they both have an excellent Talent at making themselves Enemies, and, I believe, live where they will, they will never be long without them.

We met yesterday two Officers from Philadelphia, with a Letter from the Congress to the Commissioners, and a Sum of hard Money. I opened the letter, and seal'd it again, directing them to carry it forward to you. I congratulate you on the great Prize carry'd into Boston. Seventy-five Tons of Gunpowder are an excellent Supply, and the 1000 Carbines with Bayonets, another fine Article. The German Auxiliaries are certainly coming. It is our Business to prevent their Returning. The Congress have advised the erecting new governments, which has occasion'd some Dissension in Philadelphia, but I hope it will soon be composed.[2]

[1] Dr. Franklin's ill state of health compelled him to leave Canada before the other commissioners, and he returned in company with the Rev. Mr. Carroll. — ED.

[2] It was resolved in Congress, "That it be recommended to the respective

I shall be glad to hear of your Welfare. As to myself, I find I grow daily more feeble, and think I could hardly have got along so far, but for Mr. Carroll's friendly Assistance and tender Care of me. Some Symptoms of the gout now appear, which makes me think my Indisposition has been a smother'd Fit of that Disorder, which my Constitution wanted Strength to form completely. I have had several Fits of it formerly.

God bless you and prosper your Councels, and bring you safe again to your Friends and Families. With the greatest Esteem and Respect, I am, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

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801. TO GEORGE WASHINGTON (L. L.)

Philadelphia, June 21. 76

DEAR SIR

I am much obliged by your kind Care of my unfortunate Letter, which at last came safe to Hand. — I see in it a Detail of the Mighty Force we are threatened with; which however I think is not certain will ever arrive; and I see more certainly the Ruin of Britain if she persists in such expensive distant Expeditions, which will probably prove more disastrous to her than anciently her Wars in the Holy Land. ——

I return Gen. Sulivan's Letter enclos'd: Am glad to find him in such Spirits. — and that the Canadians are returning to their regard for us. — I am just recovering from a severe

Assemblies and Conventions of the United Colonies, where no government sufficient for the exigencies of their affairs has been hitherto established, to adopt such form of government as shall, in the opinion of the representatives of the people, best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents in particular, and America in general." — *Journals, May 10th.*

803. TO HORATIO GATES[1]

Philadelphia, August 28, 1776.

DEAR SIR,

The Congress being advised, that there was a probability that the Hessians might be induced to quit the British service by offers of land, came to two resolves for this purpose, which, being translated into German and printed, are sent to Staten Island to be distributed, if practicable, among those people. Some of them have tobacco marks on the back, that so tobacco being put up in them in small quantities, as the tobacconists use, and suffered to fall into the hands of these people, they might divide the papers as plunder, before their officers could come to the knowledge of the contents, and prevent their being read by the men. That was the first resolve. A second has since been made for the officers themselves. I am desired to send some of both sorts to you, that, if you find it practicable, you may convey them among the Germans that shall come against you.

The Congress continue firmly united, and we begin to distress the enemy's trade very much; many valuable prizes being continually brought in. Arms and ammunition are also continually arriving, the French having resolved to permit the exportation to us, as they heartily wish us success; so that in another year we shall be well provided.

As you may not have seen Dr. Price's excellent pamphlet, for writing which the city of London presented him a free-

[1] First printed by Sparks. Horatio Gates (1728–1806) was appointed in 1776 to the command of that post of the Northern army which had been previously commanded by General Sullivan. — ED.

dom in a gold box of fifty pounds' value, I send you one of them.[1]

My last advices from England say, that the ministry have done their utmost in fitting out this armament; and that, if it fails, they cannot find means next year to go on with the war. While I am writing comes an account, that the armies were engaged on Long Island, the event unknown, which throws us into anxious suspense. God grant success. I am, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

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804. SKETCH

OF

PROPOSITIONS FOR A PEACE.[2] (L. C.)

THERE shall be a perpetual peace between Great Britain and the United States of America, on the following conditions.

Great Britain shall renounce and disclaim all pretence of right or authority to govern in any of the United States of America.

To prevent those occasions of misunderstanding, which are apt to arise where the territories of different powers border on each other, through the bad conduct of frontier inhabitants on both sides, Britain shall cede to the United States the

[1] "Observations on Civil Liberty and the Justice and Policy of the War with America," 1776. — ED.

[2] On the 26th of September, 1776, Dr. Franklin was appointed one of the Commissioners from Congress to the Court of France. Before his departure he sketched a brief outline of the terms upon which he supposed a peace might be made with Great Britain, in case an opportunity for a negotiation should offer. His propositions were submitted to the secret committee of Congress, but no occasion presented itself for using them. — S.

provinces or colonies of Quebec, St. John's, Nova Scotia, Bermuda, East and West Florida, and the Bahama Islands, with all their adjoining and intermediate territories now claimed by her.

In return for this cession, the United States shall pay to Great Britain the sum of sterling, in annual payments; that is to say, per annum, for and during the term of years.

And shall, moreover, grant a free trade to all British subjects throughout the United States and the ceded colonies, and shall guaranty to Great Britain the possession of her islands in the West Indies.

MOTIVES FOR PROPOSING A PEACE AT THIS TIME.

1. The having such propositions in charge will, by the law of nations, be some protection to the commissioners or ambassadors, if they should be taken.

2. As the news of our declared independence will tend to unite in Britain all parties against us, so our offering peace, with commerce and payments of money, will tend to divide them again. For peace is as necessary to them as to us; our commerce is wanted by their merchants and manufacturers, who will therefore incline to the accommodation, even though the monopoly is not continued, since it can be easily made to appear their *share* of our growing trade will soon be greater than the *whole* has been heretofore. Then, for the landed interest, who wish an alleviation of taxes, it is demonstrable by figures, that, if we should agree to pay, suppose ten millions in one hundred years, viz. one hundred thousand pounds per annum for that term, it would, being faithfully

employed as a sinking fund, more than pay off all their present national debt. It is, besides, a prevailing opinion in England, that they must in the nature of things sooner or later lose the colonies, and many think they had better be without the government of them; so that the proposition will, on that account, have more supporters and fewer opposers.

3. As the having such propositions to make, or any powers to treat of peace, will furnish a pretence for B. F.'s going to England, where he has many friends and acquaintance, particularly among the best writers and ablest speakers in both Houses of Parliament, he thinks he shall be able when there, if the terms are not accepted, to work up such a division of sentiments in the nation, as greatly to weaken its exertions against the United States, and lessen its credit in foreign countries.

4. The knowledge of there being powers given to the commissioners to treat with England, may have some effect in facilitating and expediting the proposed treaty with France.

5. It is worth our while to offer such a sum for the countries to be ceded, since the vacant lands will in time sell for a great part of what we shall give, if not more; and, if we are to obtain them by conquest, after perhaps a long war, they will probably cost us more than that sum. It is absolutely necessary for us to have them for our own security; and, though the sum may seem large to the present generation, in less than half the term it will be to the whole United States a mere trifle.

805. TO PHILIP MAZZEI[1]

Philadelphia. [Date uncertain.]

DEAR SIR,

It was with great pleasure, that I learned from Mr. Jefferson that you were settled in America; and, from the letter you favoured me with, that you liked the country, and have reason to expect success in your laudable and meritorious endeavours to introduce new products. I heartily wish you all the success you can desire in that, and every other laudable undertaking, that may conduce to your comfortable establishment in your present situation. I know not how it has happened, that you have not received an answer from the secretary of our Society. I suppose they must have written, and that it has miscarried. If you have not yet sent the books, which the Academy of Turin have done us the honour to present us with, we must, I fear, wait for more quiet times before we can have the pleasure of receiving them, the communication being now very difficult.

All America is obliged to the Grand Duke for his benevolence to it, and for the protection he afforded you, and his encouragement of your undertaking. We have experienced, that silk may be produced to great advantage. While in London, I had some trunks full sent to me from hence, three years successively; and it sold by auction for nineteen shill-

[1] This letter is reprinted from the PORT FOLIO (Vol. IV, p. 94). It is there dated "Philadelphia, December 3d, 1775." The mention of the Declaration of Independence in the letter proves this date to be wrong. It was probably written a short time before Dr. Franklin's departure for France. Philip Mazzei (1730–1816) came to Virginia to introduce the cultivation of the grape and the olive. He is best known as a correspondent of Thomas Jefferson. — ED.

ings and sixpence the small pound, which was not much below the silk of Italy.

The Congress have not yet extended their views much towards foreign powers. They are nevertheless obliged by your kind offers of your service, which perhaps in a year or two more may become very useful to them. I am myself much pleased, that you have sent a translation of our Declaration of Independence to the Grand Duke; because, having high esteem for the character of that prince, and of the whole imperial family, from the accounts given me of them by my friend, Dr. Ingenhousz, and yourself, I should be happy to find, that we stood well in the opinion of that court.

Mr. Tromond of Milan, with whom I had the pleasure of being acquainted in London, spoke to me of a plant much used in Italy, and which he thought might be useful in America. He promised, at my request, to find me some of the seeds, which he has accordingly done. I have unfortunately forgotten the use, and know nothing of the culture. In both these particulars I must beg information and advice from you. It is called *ravizzoni*. I send specimens of the seed enclosed. I received from the same Mr. Tromond four copies of a translation of some of my pieces into the fine language of your native country. I beg your acceptance of one of them, and of my best wishes for your health and prosperity. With great esteem, I have the honour to be, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

806. CORRESPONDENCE AND INTERVIEW WITH LORD HOWE

Near the beginning of the year 1776, Lord Howe was appointed to command the British fleet in North America, and on the 3d of May was declared joint commissioner with his brother, General William Howe, for the purpose of endeavouring to effect a reconciliation with the colonies, conformable to the terms of an act of Parliament. In the first part of July, Lord Howe arrived at Staten Island, where he found his brother with the British army. He had previously prepared a *Declaration*, announcing the object of his mission, which he designed for distribution in the colonies, accompanied with circular letters to the royal governors. Copies of these papers were forwarded to Congress, by whose order they were immediately published. Lord Howe likewise wrote a private letter to Dr. Franklin, then a member of Congress, which he answered.

Meantime, as Congress took no steps to meet the advances of the British commissioners, in their proposals for a reconciliation, they commenced military operations, and the battle of Long Island was fought. General Sullivan was taken prisoner in this action, and conducted on board Lord Howe's ship. At his request, General Sullivan went to Philadelphia on parole, having in charge certain verbal communications to Congress, tending to open the way to some method of effecting the objects of the commissioners. After maturely considering the subject, Congress resolved to send a committee of their members to hold a conference with Lord Howe. The persons selected for this mission were Franklin, John Adams, and Edward Rutledge.

In regard to the previous correspondence mentioned above, the following memorandum was afterwards written by Dr. Franklin.

"These letters were published in London, to show the insolence of the *insurgents*, in refusing the offer of pardon upon submission, made to them by the British plenipotentiaries. They undoubtedly deserve the attention of the public for another reason, the proof they afford that the commerce of America is deemed by the ministry themselves of such vast importance as to justify the horrid and expensive war they are now waging to maintain the monopoly of it; that being the principal cause stated by Lord Howe; though their pensioned writers and speakers in Parliament have affected to treat that commerce as a trifle. And they demonstrate further, of how much importance it is to the rest of Europe, that the continuance of that monopoly should be obstructed, and the general freedom of trade, now offered by the Americans, prevented; since by no other means the enormous growing power of Britain both by sea and land, so formidable to their neighbours, and which must follow her success, can possibly be prevented." — S.

LORD HOWE TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN[1] (B. M.)

Eagle, June 20th, 1776.

I cannot, my worthy Friend, permit the Letters and Parcels, which I have sent in the state I received them, to be landed, without adding a word upon the subject of the injurious Extremities in which our unhappy disputes have engaged us.

You will learn the Nature of my Mission, from the official Dispatches, which I have recommended to be forwarded by the same Conveyance. Retaining all the Earnestness I ever express'd to see our Differences accommodated, I shall conceive, if I meet with the Disposition in the Colonies I was once taught to expect, the most flattering Hopes of proving serviceable in the Objects of the King's paternal Solicitude, by promoting the Establishment of lasting Peace and union with the Colonies. But, if the deep-rooted Prejudices of America, and the Necessity for preventing her Trade from passing into foreign Channels, must keep us still a divided People, I shall, from every private as well as public Motive, most heartily lament, that this is not the Moment wherein those great Objects of my Ambition are to be attained; and that I am to be longer deprived of an Opportunity to assure you personally of the Regard with which I am your sincere and faithful humble Servant,

HOWE.

P.S. I was disappointed of the Opportunity I expected for sending this Letter at the Time it was dated, and have ever since been prevented by Calms and contrary Winds from getting here, to inform General Howe of the Commission with which I have the Satisfaction to be charged, and of his being joined in it.

Off Sandy Hook, 12th of July.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN TO LORD HOWE[2]

Philadelphia, July 30th, 1776.

MY LORD,

I receiv'd safe the Letters your Lordship so kindly forwarded to me, and beg you to accept my thanks.

The official dispatches, to which you refer me, contain

[1] A copy also exists in the Auckland MSS. at Cambridge. — ED.

[2] Several copies of this letter exist. It is dated July 20th in the trans. in L. C. (which Sparks and Bigelow followed). I have printed from the Auckland MSS. — ED.

nothing more than what we had seen in the Act of Parliament, viz. Offers of Pardon upon Submission, which I was sorry to find, as it must give your Lordship Pain to be sent upon so fruitless a Business.

Directing Pardons to be offered to the Colonies, who are the very Parties injured, expresses indeed that Opinion of our Ignorance, Baseness, and Insensibility, which your uninform'd and proud Nation has long been pleased to entertain of us; but it can have no other effect than that of increasing our Resentments. It is impossible we should think of Submission to a Government, that has with the most wanton Barbarity and Cruelty burnt our defenceless Towns in the midst of Winter, excited the Savages to massacre our Peacefull Farmers, and our Slaves to murder their Masters, and is even now bringing foreign Mercenaries to deluge our Settlements with Blood. These atrocious Injuries have extinguished every remaining Spark of Affection for that Parent Country we once held so dear; but, were it possible for *us* to forget and forgive them, it is not possible for *you* (I mean the British Nation) to forgive the People you have so heavily injured. You can never confide again in those as Fellow Subjects, and permit them to enjoy equal Freedom, to whom you know you have given such just Cause of lasting Enmity. And this must impel you, were we again under your Government, to endeavour the breaking our Spirit by the severest Tyranny, and obstructing, by every Means in your Power, our growing Strength and Prosperity.

But your Lordship mentions "the King's paternal solicitude for promoting the Establishment of lasting *Peace* and Union with the Colonies." If by Peace is here meant a Peace to be entered into between Britain and America, as

distinct States now at War, and his Majesty has given your Lordship Powers to treat with us of such a Peace, I may venture to say, though without Authority, that I think a Treaty for that purpose not yet quite impracticable, before we enter into foreign Alliances. But I am persuaded you have no such Powers. Your nation, though, by punishing those American Governors, who have fomented the Discord, rebuilding our burnt Towns, and repairing as far as possible the mischiefs done us, might yet recover a great Share of our Regard, and the greatest Part of our growing Commerce, with all the Advantage of that additional Strength to be deriv'd from a Friendship with us; but I know too well her abounding Pride and deficient Wisdom, to believe she will ever take such salutary Measures. Her Fondness for Conquest, as a warlike Nation, her lust of Dominion, as an ambitious one, and her wish for a gainful Monopoly, as a commercial One, (none of them legitimate Causes of war,) will all join to hide from her Eyes every view of her true Interests, and continually goad her on in those ruinous distant Expeditions, so destructive both of Lives and Treasure, that must prove as pernicious to her in the End, as the Crusades formerly were to most of the Nations in Europe.

I have not the Vanity, my Lord, to think of intimidating by thus predicting the Effects of this War; for I know it will in England have the Fate of all my former Predictions, not to be believed till the Event shall verify it.

Long did I endeavour, with unfeigned and unwearied Zeal, to preserve from breaking that fine and noble China Vase, the British Empire; for I knew, that, being once broken, the separate Parts could not retain even their Shares of the Strength and Value that existed in the Whole, and that a per-

fect Reunion of those Parts could scarce ever be hoped for. Your Lordship may possibly remember the tears of Joy that wet my Cheek, when, at your good Sister's in London, you once gave me Expectations that a Reconciliation might soon take Place. I had the Misfortune to find those Expectations disappointed, and to be treated as the Cause of the Mischief I was laboring to prevent. My Consolation under that groundless and malevolent Treatment was, that I retained the Friendship of many wise and good Men in that country, and, among the rest, some Share in the Regard of Lord Howe.

The well-founded Esteem, and, permit me to say, Affection, which I shall always have for your Lordship, makes it Painful to me to see you engaged in conducting a War, the great Ground of which, as expressed in your Letter, is "the necessity of preventing the American trade from passing into foreign Channels." To me it seems, that neither the Obtaining or Retaining of any trade, how valuable soever, is an Object for which men may justly spill each other's Blood; that the true and sure Means of extending and securing Commerce is the goodness and Cheapness of Commodities; and that the profit of no trade can ever be equal to the Expence of compelling it, and of holding it, by Fleets and Armies.

I consider this War against us, therefore, as both unjust and unwise; and I am persuaded, that cool, dispassionate Posterity will condemn to Infamy those who advised it; and that even Success will not save from some Degree of Dishonor those, who voluntarily engaged to Conduct it. I know your great motive in coming hither was the hope of being Instrumental in a Reconciliation; and I believe, when you find *that* to be impossible on any Terms given you to

propose, you will relinquish so odious a Command, and return to a more honourable private Station.

With the greatest and most sincere Respect, I have the Honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient humble Servant, B. FRANKLIN.

LORD HOWE TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN (L. C.)

Eagle, off Staten Island, Augt the 16th, 1776.

I am sorry, my worthy friend, that it is only on the occurrence you give me of my having still preserved a place in your esteem, that I can now found a pretension to trouble you with a reply to your favour of the 21st past.

I can have no difficulty to acknowledge, that the powers I am invested with were never calculated to negotiate a reunion with America, under any other description than as subject to the crown of Great Britain. But I do esteem those powers competent, not only to confer and negotiate with any gentlemen of influence in the colonies upon the terms, but also to effect a lasting peace and reunion between the two countries, were the temper of the colonies such as professed in the last petition of the Congress to the King. America would have judged in the discussion how far the means were adequate to the end, both for engaging her confidence and proving our integrity. Nor did I think it necessary to say more in my public declaration; not conceiving it could be understood to refer to peace on any other conditions but those of mutual interest to both countries, which could alone render it permanent.

But, as I perceive, from the tenour of your letter, how little I am to reckon upon the advantage of your assistance, for restoring that permanent union which has long been the object of my endeavours, and which, I flattered myself when I left England, would be in the compass of my power; I will only add, that, as the dishonour, to which you deem me exposed by my military situation in this country, has effected no change in your sentiments of personal regard towards me, so shall no difference in political points alter my desire of proving how much I am your sincere and obedient humble servant,

HOWE.

TO LORD HOWE[1]

Philadelphia, September 8, 1776.

MY LORD,

I received your favour of the 16th past. I did not immediately answer it, because I found that my corresponding with

[1] First printed by Sparks.

your Lordship was disliked by some members of Congress. I hope now soon to have an opportunity of discussing with you, *viva voce*, the matters mentioned in it; as I am, with Mr. Adams and Mr. E. Rutledge, appointed to wait on your Lordship, in consequence of a desire you expressed in some conversation with General Sullivan, and of a resolution of Congress made thereupon, which that gentleman has probably before this time communicated to you.

We propose to set out on our journey to-morrow morning, and to be at Amboy on Wednesday about nine o'clock, where we should be glad to meet a line from your Lordship, appointing the time and place of meeting. If it would be agreeable to your Lordship, we apprehend, that, either at the house on Staten Island opposite to Amboy, or at the governor's house in Amboy, we might be accommodated with a room for the purpose. With the greatest esteem and respect, I have the honour to be, my Lord, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

"*In Congress*, 7^{ber} 2*d*, 1776. Congress being informed that General Sullivan, who was taken prisoner on Long Island, was come to Philadelphia with a message from Lord Howe,

"Ordered, that he be admitted, and heard before Congress.

"General Sullivan being admitted, delivered the verbal message he had in charge from Lord Howe, which he was desired to reduce to writing, and withdrew.

"7^{ber} 3*d*. General Sullivan having reduced to writing the verbal message from Lord Howe, the same was laid before Congress and read as follows."

The following is the purport of the message sent from Lord Howe to Congress by General Sullivan.

"'That, though he could not at present treat with Congress, as such, yet he was very desirous of having a conference with some of the members, whom he would consider for the present only as private gentlemen, and meet them himself as such, at such place as they should appoint.

"'That he, in conjunction with General Howe, had full powers to compromise the disputes between Great Britain and America on terms advan-

[illegible] to both, the obtaining of which delayed him near two months in England, and prevented his arrival at this place before the declaration of Independence took place.

"'That he wished a compact might be settled at this time, when no decisive blow was struck, and neither party could say they were compelled to enter into such agreement.

"'That, in case Congress were disposed to treat, many things, which they had not as yet asked, might and ought to be granted to them; and that, if, upon the conference, they found any probable ground for an accommodation, the authority of Congress must be afterwards acknowledged, otherwise the compact could not be complete.'

"7br 5th. Resolved, that General Sullivan be requested to inform Lord Howe, that this Congress, being the representatives of the free and independent States of America, cannot, with propriety, send any of its members to confer with his Lordship in their private characters, but that, ever desirous of establishing peace on reasonable terms, they will send a committee of their body to know whether he has any authority to treat with persons authorized by Congress for that purpose on behalf of America, and what that authority is, and to hear such propositions as he shall think fit to make respecting the same.

"Ordered, that a copy of the foregoing resolution be delivered to General Sullivan, and that he be directed immediately to repair to Lord Howe.

"7br 6th. Resolved, that the committee 'to be sent to know whether Lord Howe has any authority to treat with persons authorized by Congress for that purpose, on behalf of America, and what that authority is, and to hear such propositions as he shall think fit to make respecting the same,' consist of three.

"The members chosen Mr. Franklin, Mr. Adams, and Mr. Rutledge."

LORD HOWE TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

Eagle, off Bedlow's Island, September 10th, 1776.

LORD HOWE presents his compliments to Dr. Franklin, and according to the tenour of his favour of the 8th, will attend to have the pleasure of meeting him and Messrs. Adams and Rutledge to-morrow morning, at the house on Staten Island opposite to Amboy, as early as the few conveniences for travelling by land on Staten Island will admit. Lord Howe, upon his arrival at the place appointed, will send a boat (if he can procure it in time), with a flag of truce, over to Amboy; and requests the Doctor and the other gentlemen will postpone their intended favour of passing over to meet him, until they are informed as above of his arrival to attend them there.

In case the weather should prove unfavourable for Lord Howe to pass in his boat to Staten Island to-morrow, as from the present appearance there is

some reason to suspect, he will take the next earliest opportunity that offers for that purpose. In this intention he may be further retarded, having been an invalid lately; but will certainly give the most timely notice of that inability. He, however, flatters himself he shall not have occasion to make further excuses on that account.[1]

"*In Congress*, 7ber 13*th*. The committee appointed to confer with Lord Howe, having returned, made a verbal report.

"Ordered, that they make a report in writing, as soon as conveniently they can.

"7ber 17*th*. The committee appointed to confer with Lord Howe, agreable to the order of Congress, brought in a report in writing, which was read as follows.

"'In obedience to the orders of Congress, we have had a meeting with Lord Howe. It was on Wednesday last, upon Staten Island, opposite to Amboy, where his Lordship received and entertained us with the utmost politeness.

"'His Lordship opened the conversation by acquainting us, that, though he could not treat with us as a committee of Congress, yet, as his powers enabled him to confer and consult with any private gentlemen of influence in the colonies, on the means of restoring peace between the two countries, he was glad of this opportunity of conferring with us on that subject, if we thought ourselves at liberty to enter into a conference with him in that character.

"'We observed to his Lordship, that, as our business was to hear, he might consider us in what light he pleased, and communicate to us any proposition he might be authorized to make for the purpose mentioned; but that we could consider ourselves in no other character, than that in which we were placed by order of Congress.

"'His Lordship then entered into a discourse of considerable length, which contained no explicit proposition of peace except one, namely, that the colonies should return to their allegiance and obedience to the government of Great Britain. The rest consisted principally of assurances, that there was an exceeding good disposition in the King and his ministers to make that government easy to us, with intimations, that, in case of our submission, they would cause the offensive acts of Parliament to be revised, and the instruc-

[1] The committee being arrived at Amboy, opposite to the Island, and in possession of the Americans, the admiral sent over his barge to receive and bring them to him, and to leave one of his principal officers as a hostage for their safe return. The committee of Congress had not desired a hostage, and they therefore took the officer back with them. The admiral met them at their landing, and conducted them through his guards to a convenient room for conference. — W. T. F.

tions to governors to be reconsidered; that so, if any just causes of complaint were found in the acts, or any errors in government were perceived to have crept into the instructions, they might be amended or withdrawn.

"'We gave it as our opinion to his Lordship, that a return to the domination of Great Britain was not now to be expected. We mentioned the repeated humble petitions of the colonies to the King and Parliament, which had been treated with contempt, and answered only by additional injuries; the unexampled patience we had shown under their tyrannical government; and that it was not till the last act of Parliament, which denounced war against us, and put us out of the King's protection, that we declared our independence; that this declaration had been called for by the people of the colonies in general; that every colony had approved of it, when made; and all now considered themselves as independent States, and were settling or had settled their governments accordingly; so that it was not in the power of Congress to agree for them, that they should return to their former dependent state; that there was no doubt of their inclination to peace, and their willingness to enter into a treaty with Britain, that might be advantageous to both countries; that, though his Lordship had at present no power to treat with them as independent States, he might, if there was the same good disposition in Britain, much sooner obtain fresh powers from thence, than powers could be obtained by Congress from the several colonies to consent to a submission.

"'His Lordship then saying, that he was sorry to find that no accommodation was likely to take place, put an end to the conference.

"'Upon the whole, it did not appear to your committee, that his Lordship's commission contained any other authority of importance than what is expressed in the act of Parliament, namely, that of granting pardons, with such exceptions as the commissioners shall think proper to make, and of declaring America, or any part of it, to be in the King's peace, upon submission; for, as to the power of inquiring into the state of America, which his Lordship mentioned to us, and of conferring and consulting with any persons the commissioners might think proper, and representing the result of such conversation to the ministry, who, provided the colonies would subject themselves, might, after all, or might not, at their pleasure, make any alterations in the former instructions to governors, or propose in Parliament any amendment of the acts complained of, we apprehended any expectation from the effect of such a power would have been too uncertain and precarious to be relied on by America, had she still continued in her state of dependence.'

"Ordered, that the foregoing report, and also the message from Lord Howe, as delivered by General Sullivan, and the resolution of Congress in consequence thereof, be published by the committee who brought in the foregoing report."

JOHN HANCOCK, Pres.

Attest, CHAS. THOMSON, Secr.

807. TO W. T. FRANKLIN[1] (A. P. S.)

Philad[a] Sept. 19. 1776

DEAR BILLY,

I received yours of the 16th, in which you propose going to your Father, if I have no Objection. I have considered the matter, and cannot approve of your taking such a Journey at this time, especially alone, for many Reasons which I have not time to write. I am persuaded, that if your mother should write a sealed Letter to her Husband, and enclose it under cover to Gov[r]. Trumbull of Connecticut, acquainting him that it contains nothing but what relates to her private Family Concerns, and requesting him to forward or deliver it, (opening it first if he should think fit) he would cause it to be deliver'd safe without opening. — I hope you do not feel any Reluctance in returning to your Studies. This is the Time of Life in which you are to lay the Foundations of your future Improvements, and of your Importance among Men. If this Season is neglected, it will be like cutting off the Spring from the Year.

Your Aunt had the Carelessness to send the Bundle containing your Waistcoat, undirected, by Prichard. He forgot where he was to leave it, & with his usual Stupidity carried it to your House & brought it away again without asking a Question about it till he came home. He has also brought away the Razor Case you lent to Mr Adams. We shall send both when there is *another* Opportunity; for one has since been miss'd, that of Mr. Bache, who intended calling to see Mrs Franklin. There seems to be a kind of Fatality

[1] Son of William Franklin, Governor of New Jersey. — ED.

attending the Conveyance of your Things between Amboy & Philadelphia. Benny had written as I told you, but his Letter it seems was not sent. It was thought to be too full of Pothooks & Hangers, and so unintelligible by the dividing Words in the Middle and joining Ends of some to Beginnings of others, that if it had fallen into the Hands of some Committee it might have given them too much Trouble to decypher it, on a Suspicion of its containing Treason, especially as directed to a Tory House. He is now diligent in learning to write better, that he may arrive at the Honour of Corresponding with his Aunt after you leave her. Mr. & Mrs. Green went from hence on Monday, on their Return. I wish they may be in time to cross the North River safely at some of the upper Ferries. — My Love to your good Mama, & Respects to her Friends in the Family. Your Aunts join in best Wishes, with

Your affectionate Grandfather

B. FRANKLIN.

They desire I would express more particularly their Love to Mrs Franklin.

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808. TO W. T. FRANKLIN (A. P. S.)

Philad^{a} Sept. 22. 1776

DEAR GRANDSON,

You are mistaken in imagining that I am apprehensive of your carrying dangerous Intelligence to your Father; for while he remains where he is, he could make no use of it were you to know & acquaint him with all that passes. You would have been more in the right if you could have

suspected me of a little tender Concern for your Welfare, on Acct of the Length of the Journey, your Youth and Inexperience, the Number of Sick returning on that Road with the Infectious Camp Distemper, which makes the Beds unsafe, together with the Loss of Time in your Studies, of which I fear you begin to grow tired. To send you on such a Journey merely to avoid the being obliged to Govr Trumbull for so small a Favour as the forwarding a Letter, seems to me inconsistent with your Mothers usual Prudence. I rather think the Project takes its rise from your own Inclination to a Ramble, & Disinclination for Returning to College, join'd with a Desire I do not blame of seeing a Father you have so much Reason to love, — They send to me from the Office for my Letter, so I cannot add more than to acquaint you, I shall by next post if desired send several Frank'd Covers directed to Govr Trumbull, for Mrs F. to use as she has occasion. I write to him in the first now sent, to introduce her Request. She may desire her Husband to send his Letters to her under Cover to me. It will make but 2 Days odds. The Family is well & join in Love to her & you,

Your affectionate Grandfather
B. FRANKLIN

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809. TO THOMAS MORRIS[1] (PAE EU)

Auray in Brittany, December 4, 1776

I ARRIVED here on board the *Reprisal*, Capt. Wickes, now at anchor in Quiberon Bay, where she is waiting for wind to

[1] Translated from the French. Thomas Morris was a brother of Robert Morris. — ED.

get up to Nantes. I have many letters and large packages for you, and as I count upon leaving Nantes by post, I hope to have the pleasure of delivering them to you. I only send one of them now, not being sure that the others will not be opened at the post. Besides, they will cost you very dear. If our friends at Nantes think proper, I will send your packages, and those for Mr. Deane, by express, so that you will have them almost as soon as if sent by post.

When I left, our armies were very near each other, about 18 miles from New York. There has been no general action, though one was expected every day. In various skirmishes our forces had beaten the enemy of equal or superior force, and our army is full of courage. There are daily arrivals in our ports of captures made from the enemy. We made two on our passage over of twenty days.

[B. F.]

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810. TO SILAS DEANE (PAR EU)

Auray in Brittany, December 4, 1776.

I HAVE just arrived on board the Reprisal, Captain Wickes, a small vessel of war belonging to Congress. We are in Quiberon Bay, awaiting a favourable wind to go on to Nantes. We left the Cape the 29th of October, and have been about 30 days from land to land. I remained on board three days after we dropped anchor, hoping to be able to go up to Nantes in our ship, but the wind continuing unfavourable, I came here to go on by land to Nantes.

Congress in September named you, Mr. Jefferson, and myself to negotiate a treaty of commerce and friendship

with the court of France. Mr. Jefferson, then in Virginia, declined. Thereupon Mr. Arthur Lee, at present in London, was named in his place. Our vessel has brought indigo for the account of Congress, to the value of about £3,000 sterling, subject to our order, to meet our expenses. Congress has appropriated, in addition, £7,000 for the same object, which the committee will transmit as soon as possible.

I find myself here as near to Paris as I shall be at Nantes, but I am obliged to go there to provide myself with money for my journey, and to get my baggage, which was left on the ship. I shall endeavor to join you as soon as possible. I propose to retain my incognito until I ascertain whether the court will receive ministers from the United States. I have several letters for you from the committee, which I do not send forward because I know they contain matter of consequence, and I am not certain of their safety in that way. Besides, as I intend to take the post at Nantes, I imagine it will make but three or four days difference. We fell in with two brigantines at sea, one Irish and the other English which we captured and brought into Nantes. I do not know that the Captain can get permission to sell them here, as that would be in contradiction of the treaties between the two crowns. They are worth about £4,000. We have had a tedious passage, and I am weak but hope that the good air which I breathe on land will soon reëstablish me, that I may travel with speed to join you in Paris, and there find you in good health.

P. S. — If you could find some means to notify Mr. Lee of his nomination, it would be well to do so. Perhaps the best way would be through the Department of Foreign

affairs and the French Ambassador. The regular post would not be safe.

I beg you to procure lodgings for me.

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811. TO BARBEU DUBOURG (PAE EU)

Auray in Brittany, December 4, 1776.

My dear good friend will be much surprised to receive a letter from me dated in France, when neither of us had been expecting such a thing. I left Philadelphia the 26th of October, on a vessel of war, belonging to Congress, and in thirty days dropped anchor in Quiberon Bay. On our voyage we captured two British vessels and brought them with us. Our ship is destined for Nantes, but the wind being unfavourable to entering the Loire, we waited some days in Quiberon Bay, until becoming impatient to put my feet on land, I availed myself of a boat to get here, whence I shall go by land to Nantes, where I shall probably rest for a few days. Learning that the post leaves here this evening, I seize the opportunity to salute you, as well as my dear Madame Dubourg and Mesdlles. Prehesson and Basseport, whom I hope soon to have the pleasure of finding in good health.

I suppose that Messrs. Deane and Morris have the honour of being known to you, and as I do not know their address, I take the liberty of addressing each of them a word under your cover, and beg you to transmit it to them. I shall see to the reimbursement of your expenses.

I see that you have had bad news of our affairs in America,

but they are not true. The British, with the assistance of their ships, have gained a footing in two islands, but they have not extended their foothold on the continent, where we hold them at a respectful distance. Our armies were one or two miles apart when I left, and both entrenched. In different skirmishes which had occurred lately between parties of five hundred and a thousand men on each side, we have always had the advantage, and have driven them from the field with loss, our fire being more destructive than theirs. On the sea we have seriously molested their commerce, taking large numbers of their ships in the West Indies, which are daily brought to our ports. But I do not care to dwell upon these subjects until I shall have the pleasure of seeing you.

[B. FRANKLIN.]

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812. TO JOHN HANCOCK[1]

Nantes, December 8, 1776.

SIR,

In thirty days after we left the Capes of Delaware, we came to an anchor in Quiberon Bay. I remained on board four days, expecting a change of wind proper to carry the ship into the river Loire; but the wind seemed fixed in an opposite quarter. I landed at Auray, and with some difficulty got hither, the road not being well supplied with means of conveyance. Two days before we saw land, we met a brigantine from Bordeaux belonging to Cork, and another from Rochefort belonging to Hull, both of which were taken. The first had on board staves, tar, turpentine, and claret; the other cognac brandy and flaxseed. There is some

[1] At that time President of Congress. — ED.

difficulty in determining what to do with them; as they are scarce worth sending to America, and the mind of the French court, with regard to prizes brought into their ports, is not yet known. It is certainly contrary to their treaties with Britain to permit the sale of them, and we have no regular means of trying and condemning them. There are, however, many here, who would purchase prizes; we having already had several offers from persons who are willing to take upon themselves all consequences as to the illegality. Captain Wickes, as soon as he can get his refreshment, intends to cruise in the Channel.

Our friends in France have been a good deal dejected with the Gazette accounts of advantages obtained against us by the British troops. I have helped them here to recover their spirits a little, by assuring them, that we still face the enemy, and were under no apprehension of their armies being able to complete their junction. I understand that Mr. Lee has lately been at Paris, that Mr. Deane is still there, and that an underhand supply is obtained from the government of two hundred brass fieldpieces, thirty thousand firelocks, and some other military stores, which are now shipping for America, and will be convoyed by a ship of war. The court of England (M. Penet tells me, from whom I have the above intelligence,) had the folly to demand Mr. Deane to be delivered up, but were refused.

Our voyage, though not long, was rough, and I feel myself weakened by it; but I now recover strength daily, and in a few days shall be able to undertake the journey to Paris. I have not yet taken any public character, thinking it prudent first to know whether the court is ready and willing to receive ministers publicly from the Congress; that we may

neither embarrass her on the one hand, nor subject ourselves to the hazard of a disgraceful refusal on the other. I have despatched an express to Mr. Deane, with the letters that I had for him from the Committee, and a copy of our commission, that he may immediately make the proper inquiries, and give me information. In the mean time I find it generally supposed here, that I am sent to negotiate; and that opinion appears to give great pleasure, if I can judge by the extreme civilities I meet with from numbers of the principal people who have done me the honour to visit me.

I have desired Mr. Deane, by some speedy and safe means, to give Mr. Lee notice of his appointment. I find several vessels here laden with military stores for America, just ready to sail. On the whole, there is the greatest prospect that we shall be well provided for another campaign, and much stronger than we were last. A Spanish fleet has sailed with seven thousand land forces foot, and some horse. Their destination is unknown, but supposed against the Portuguese in Brazil. Both France and England are preparing strong fleets, and it is said, that all the powers of Europe are preparing for war, apprehending that a general one cannot be very far distant. When I arrive at Paris, I shall be able to write with more certainty. I beg you to present my duty to Congress, and assure them of my most faithful endeavours in their service. With the sincerest esteem and respect, I have the honour to be, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

813. TO THE COMMITTEE OF SECRET CORRESPONDENCE (D. S. W.)

Nantes, December 8. 1776.

GENTLEMEN,

After a short but rough passage of thirty days, we anchored in Quiberon Bay, the wind not suiting to enter the Loire. Captain Wickes did every thing in his power to make the voyage comfortable to me; and I was much pleased with what I saw of his conduct as an officer, when on supposed occasions we made preparation for engagement, the good order and readiness, with which it was done, being far beyond my expectations, and I believe equal to any thing of the kind in the best ships of the King's fleet. He seems to have also a very good set of officers under him. I hope they will all in good time be promoted. He met and took two prizes, brigantines, one belonging to Cork, laden with staves, pitch, tar, turpentine, and claret; the other to Hull, with a cargo of flaxseed and brandy. The captains have made some propositions of ransom, which, perhaps, may be accepted, as there is yet no means of condemning them here, and they are scarce worth sending to America. The ship is yet in Quiberon Bay, with her prizes. I came hither from thence, seventy miles, by land. I am made extremely welcome here, where America has many friends. As soon as I have recovered strength enough for the journey, which I hope will be in a very few days, I shall set out for Paris. My letter to the President will inform you of some other particulars. With great esteem, I have the honour to be, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. *December 10th.* I have just learned that eighty pieces of cannon, all brass, with carriages, braces, and every thing fit for immediate service, were embarked in a frigate from Havre, which is sailed; the rest were to go in another frigate of thirty-six guns.

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814. TO COMTE DE VERGENNES (PAE EU)

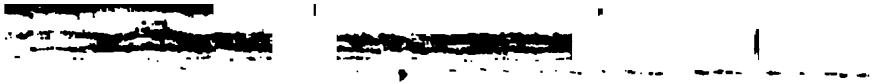
Paris, December 23, 1776.

SIR: — I beg leave to acquaint your Excellency that we are appointed and fully empowered by the Congress of the United States of America to propose and negotiate a treaty of amity and commerce between France and the United States. The just and generous treatment their trading ships have received by a free admission into the ports of this kingdom, with other considerations of respect, has induced the Congress to make this offer first to France. We request an audience of your Excellency, wherein we may have an opportunity of presenting our credentials, and we flatter ourselves that the propositions we are authorized to make are such as will not be found unacceptable.

With the greatest regard, we have the honour to be,

Your Excellency's most obedient
and most humble servants,

B. FRANKLIN,
SILAS DEANE,
ARTHUR LEE.



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